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A Semi-annual Magazine Devoted to the Study
of Mahayana Buddhism

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THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

An unsectarian magazine devoted to the study of Mahayana Buddhism
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EDITORS

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI

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THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

MAHAYANA AND HINAYANA BUDDHISM,
OR THE BODHISATTVA-IDEAL AND THE
ŚRĀVAKA-IDEAL AS DISTINGUISHED IN
THE OPENING CHAPTER OF THE
GAṆḌAVYŪHA*

1

When we come to the *Gaṇḍavyūha* after the *Laṅkāvatāra*, or the *Vajracchedhika*, or the *Parinirvāṇa*, or even after the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, or the *Sukhāvativyūha*, we find a complete change of the stage where the great religious drama of Mahayana Buddhism is enacted. There is nothing cold here, nothing grey, nothing earth-coloured, nothing humanly mean; for everything one touches in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* shines out in an unsurpassable manner. We are no more in this world of limitation, adumbration, and obduracy; we are miraculously lifted up among the heavenly galaxies. The ethereal world is luminosity itself. Here is no sombreness of earthly Jetavana, no disreputableness of the dry-rass seat on which the Lion of the Śākya probably sat

* The *Gaṇḍavyūha* or *Avatamsaka*, comprehensively known as 華嚴經 (*hua-yen-ching*) in Chinese, represents a great school of Mahayana thought. Traditionally, the Sutra is believed to have been delivered by the Buddha while he was in deep meditation after the Enlightenment. In this Sutra the Buddha gives no personal discourses on any subject except giving the sanction, "Sādhu! Sādhu!" to statements made by the attending Bodhisattvas such as Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, or emitting rays of supernatural light from the various parts of his body as required by the occasion. The Sanskrit *Gaṇḍavyūha* exclusively treats of the pilgrimage of Sudhana under the direction of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. The young pilgrim-aspirant for Supreme Enlightenment visits one teacher after another, amounting to more than fifty in number. The object is to find out what constitutes the life of devotion as practised by a Bodhisattva.

when preaching; here is no group of shabbily-dressed mendicants listening to a discourse on the unreality of an individual ego-soul. When the Buddha enters into a certain kind of Samādhi, the pavilion where he is situated all of a sudden expands to the fullest limits of the universe; in other words, the universe itself is dissolved in the being of the Buddha. The universe is the Buddha, and the Buddha is the universe. And this is not mere expanse of Emptiness, nor is it the shrivelling-up of it into an atom; for the ground is paved with diamonds; the pillars, beams, railings, etc. are inlaid with all kinds of precious stones and gems sparkling brilliantly and each reflecting others glitteringly.

Not only is the universe of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* not on this side of existence, but the audience surrounding the Buddha is not a mortal one. The Bodhisattvas, the Śrāvakas, and even the worldly lords who are assembling here are all spiritual beings. Though the Śrāvakas and lords and their followers do not fully comprehend the signification of the miracles going on about them, none of them are those whose minds are still under the bondage of ignorance and folly. If they were, they could not even be present at this extraordinary scene.

How does all this come about?

The compilation of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* was made possible owing to a definite change which took place in the mind of the Buddha concerning life and the world. Thus in the study of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, what is most essential to know is that the Buddha is no more living in the world which can be conceived in terms of space and time. His consciousness is not that of an ordinary mind which must be regulated according to the senses and logic. Nor is it a product of poetical imagination which creates its own images and methods of dealing with particular objects. The Buddha of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* lives in a spiritual world.

In this world there is no time-division such as the past, present, and future; for they have contracted themselves

into a single moment of the present where life quivers in its true sense. The conception of time as an objective blank in which particular events as its contents succeed one after another has completely vanished. The Buddha in the *Gaṇḍa* thus knows no time-continuity, the past and future are both rolled up in this present moment of illumination, and this present moment is not something standing still with all its contents, for it ceaselessly moves on. Thus the past is the present, so is the future, but this present in which the past and the future are merged never remains the present; in other words, it is eternally present. And at the centre of this eternal present the Buddha has fixed his abode which is no abode.

As with time, so with space. Space in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* is not an extension divided by mountains and forests, rivers and oceans, lights and shades, the visible and the invisible. Extension is here indeed, as there is no contraction of space into one single block of existence; but what we have here is an infinite mutual fusion or penetration of all things, each with its individuality yet with something universal in it. A general fusion thus taking place is the practical annihilation of space which is recognisable only through change and division and impenetrability. To illustrate this state of existence, the *Gaṇḍavyūha* makes everything it depicts transparent and luminous, for luminosity is the only possible earthly representation that conveys the idea of universal interpenetration, the ruling topic of the Sutra. A world of lights transcending distance, opacity, and ugliness of all sorts, is the world of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*.

With the annihilation of space and time, there evolves a realm of imagelessness or shadowlessness (*anābhāsa*). As long as there are lights and shades, the principle of individuation always overwhelms us human mortals. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha* there is no shadowiness; it is true, there are rivers, flowers, trees, nets, banners, etc. in the land of purity, in the description of which the compiler taxes his human

imagination to its utmost limits; but no shadows are visible here anywhere. The clouds themselves are luminous bodies—so many of them overhanging in the Jetavana of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*—which are described in terms of Mahayana world-conception.

This universe of luminosity, the scene of interpenetration, is known as Dharmadhātu in contrast to Lokadhātu which is this world of particulars. In the Dharmadhātu there are space and time and individual beings as in the Lokadhātu, but they show none of their earthly characteristics of separateness and obduracy as are perceivable in the latter. For the Dharmadhātu is not a universe spatially or temporarily constructed like the Lokadhātu, and yet it is not utter blankness or mere void which is identifiable with absolute non-entity. The Dharmadhātu is a real existence and not separated from the Lokadhātu, only it is not the same as the latter, it is realisable when the solid outlines of individuality melt away and the feeling of finiteness no more oppresses one. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* is thus also known as the "Entering into the Dharmadhātu."

2

What are then some of the chief changes of thought that have taken place in Buddhism enabling it to evolve a universe to be known as Dharmadhātu? What are those feelings and ideas which have entered into the consciousness of the inhabitants of the Dharmadhātu? In short, what are the Mahayana qualifications of the Tathagata, Bodhisattva, and Śrāvaka? As far as the opening chapter of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* is concerned, the following points may be noted.

1. The one dominant feeling, we may almost assert, that runs through the text is an active sense of grand inscrutable mystery (*acintya*), going beyond the power of thinking and description. Everything one sees, hears, or observes in the Dharmadhātu is a mystery, because it is incomprehensible to ordinary sense or logical measurement.

Jetavana of so many square miles abruptly expands to the ends of the universe—does this not surpass human conception? A Bodhisattva comes from a world lying even beyond the furthest end of the universe, that is, beyond an ocean of worlds as innumerable as particles of atoms constituting a Buddha-land—is this not a wonderful event! And let us remind you that this Bodhisattva is accompanied by his retinues as innumerable as the number of atoms constituting a Buddha-land, and again that these visitors are coming from all the ten quarters, accompanied not only by their innumerable retinues but surrounded by luminous clouds, shining banners, etc. Depict all this in your own minds exercising all the power of imagination that you can command—is it not really a most miraculous sight altogether transcending human thought? All that the poor writer of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* can say is “inconceivable” (*acintya*) and “indescribable” (*anabhilāpya*). The miracles performed are not of such local or partial nature as we encounter in most religious literature. Miracles so called are ordinarily a man’s walking on water, a stick changing into a tree, a blind man being enabled to see, and so on. Not only are all these miracles recorded in the history of religion quite insignificant in scale when compared with those of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, but they are fundamentally different from the latter; for the latter are possible only when the whole scheme of the universe as we conceive it is altered from its very basis.

2. We are impressed now with the spiritual powers of the Buddha who can achieve all these wonders by merely entering into a certain Samādhi. What are these powers? They are defined thus: 1. The sustaining and inspiring power (*adhishṭhāna*) which is given to the Bodhisattva to achieve the end of his life; 2. The power of working miracles (*vikurvita*); 3. The power of ruling (*anubhūva*); 4. The power of the original vow (*pūrvapraṇidhāna*); 5. The power of goodness practised in his former lives (*pūrvasukṛitakuśalamūla*); 6. The power of receiving all good friends

(*kalyāṇamītraparigraha*); 7. The power of pure faith and knowledge (*śraddhāyajñānaviśuddhi*); 8. The power of attaining a highly illuminating faith (*udārādhimuktyavabhāsapratilambha*); 9. The power of purifying the thought of the Bodhisattva (*bodhisattvādhyāsayapariśuddhi*); and 10. The power of earnestly walking towards all-knowledge and original vows (*adhyāsayasarvajñatāprañidhānaprasaṅga*).

3. The fact that it was due to the miraculous power of the Samādhi attained by the Buddha which caused the transformation of the entire city of Jetavana makes one inquire into the nature of the Samādhi. According to the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, the miracle was effected by the strength of a great compassionate heart (*mahākaruṇā*) which constitutes the very essence of the Samādhi; for compassion is its body (*śarīra*), its face (*mukha*), its forehead (*pūrvāṅgama*), and the means of expanding itself all over the universe. Without this great heart of love and compassion, the Buddha's Samādhi, however exalted it may be in every other way, will be of no avail in the enactment of the great spiritual drama so wonderfully described here. This is indeed what characteristically distinguishes the Mahayana from all that has preceded it in the history of Buddhism. Owing to its self-expanding and self-creating power, a great loving heart transforms this earthly world into one of splendour and mutual fusion, and this is where the Buddha is always abiding.

4. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* is in a sense the history of the inner religious consciousness of Samantabhadra the Bodhisattva, whose wisdom-eye (*jñānacakṣus*), life of devotion (*caryā*), and original vows (*prañidhāna*) make up its contents. Thus all the Bodhisattvas taking part in the establishment of the Dharmadhātu are born (*abhiniryāta*) of the life and vows of Samantabhadra. And Sudhana's chief object of pilgrimage which is told in such details in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* was nothing else than identifying himself with

Samantabhadra the Bodhisattva. When after visiting more than fifty teachers of all sorts he came to Samantabhadra, he was thoroughly instructed by the Bodhisattva as regards his life of devotion, his knowledge, his vows, his miraculous powers, etc.; and when Sudhana realised what all these Buddhist disciplines meant he found himself in complete identity not only with Samantabhadra, but with all the Buddhas, his body filled the universe to its ends, and his life of devotion (*caryā*), his enlightenment (*sambodhi*), his transformation-bodies (*vikurvita*), his revolution of the Dharma-wheel, his eloquence, his voice, his faith, his abode, his love and compassion, and his emancipation and mastery over the world were exactly those of Samantabhadra and all the Buddhas.

What concerns us here most is the idea of vow (*praṇīdhāna*) which is made by a Bodhisattva in the beginning of his career and which controls all his later life. His vows are concerned with enlightening, or emancipating, or saving all his fellow-beings which include not only sentient beings but the non-sentient. The reason he gives up everything that is ordinarily regarded as belonging to oneself is not to gain a word or a phrase of truth for himself—there is in fact no such thing in the great ocean of reality; what he wants to accomplish by his life of self-sacrifice is to lead all beings to final emancipation, to a state of happiness which is not of this world, to make the light of knowledge illuminate the whole universe, and to see all the Buddhas praised and adored by all beings. This is what is absorbingly interesting in the life of devotion practised by Samantabhadra the Bodhisattva.

3

Reference was made to the sense of mystery which pervades the whole text of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* as one of its striking characteristics. I want now to fathom this and point out where it originates, that is, what is its philosophical

background. For the *Gaṇḍavyūha* has its own view of the world and the mind, and it is based on this philosophical view that so many miracles, mysteries, or inconceivabilities succeed one after another in a most wonderful manner—which to many may appear to be altogether too fantastic, too beyond the reach of common sense. But when we grasp the central fact of spiritual experience gone through by the Bodhisattvas as narrated in the Sutra, all the rest of the scenes depicted here suggest perfect naturalness, and there are no irrationalities. The main thing, therefore, for us to do if we desire to understand the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, will be to take hold of its ruling idea.

The ruling idea of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* is known as the doctrine of interpenetration. It is a thought somewhat similar to the Hegelian philosophy of concrete-universals. Each individual reality, besides being itself, reflects in it something of the universal, and at the same time it is itself because of other individuals. A system of perfect relationship exists among individual existences and also between individuals and universals, between particular objects and general ideas. This perfect net-work of mutual relations has received the technical name of interpenetration in the hands of Mahayana philosophers.

When the Empress Tsê-t'ien of T'ang felt it difficult to grasp the meaning of interpenetration, Fa-tsang, the great master of the Avatamsaka school of Buddhism, illustrated it in the following way. He had first a candle lighted, and then encircling it had mirrors on all sides. The central light reflected itself in every one of the mirrors, and every one of these reflected lights was reflected again in every mirror, so that there was a perfect interplay of lights, that is, of concrete-universals. This is said to have enlightened the mind of the Empress. It is necessary to have this kind of philosophy in the understanding of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* or the *Avatamsaka*. The following extracts from the text before us will help us to have a glimpse into its abstruse teaching.

After describing the transformations that took place in Jetavana when the Buddha entered into a Samādhi known as *Simhaviṣṭrīmbhita*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha* goes on to say: "All this is due to the Buddha's miraculous (*acintya*) deeds of goodness, to his miraculous work of purity, to his miraculously mighty power; all this is because he has the miraculous power of transforming his one body and making it pervade the entire universe; it is because he has the miraculous power of making all the Buddhas, all the Buddha-lands with their splendours enter into his own body; it is because he has the miraculous power of manifesting all the images of the Dharmadhātu within one single particle of dust; it is because he has the miraculous power of revealing all the Buddhas of the past with their successive doings within a single pore of his skin; it is because he has the miraculous power of illuminating the entire universe with each one of the rays which emanate from his body; it is because he has the miraculous power of evolving clouds of transformation from a single pore of his skin and making them fill up all the Buddha-lands; it is because he has the miraculous power of revealing in a single pore of his skin the whole history of all the worlds in the ten quarters from their first appearance until their final destruction. It is for these reasons that in this grove of Jetavana are revealed all the purities and splendours of the Buddha-lands."

When all the Bodhisattvas with an inconceivable number of followers come from the ten quarters of the world and begin to get settled around the Buddha, the *Gaṇḍavyūha* explains for its readers who are these Bodhisattvas miraculously assembling here accompanied mostly by luminous clouds, and gives among others the following characterisation of the Bodhisattvas:

"All these Bodhisattvas from the ten quarters of the world together with their retinues are born of the life and vows of Samantabhadra the Bodhisattva. By means of their pure wisdom-eye they see all the Buddhas of the past,

present, and future, and also hear the ocean of the Sutras and the revolving of the Dharma-wheel by all the Buddhas. They are all masters of the excellent Pāramitās; they approach and serve all the Tathagatas who are performing miracles every minute; they are also able to expand their own bodies to the ends of the universe; they bring forth by means of their body of light all the religious assemblies conducted by the Buddha; they reveal in each particle of dust all the worlds, singly and generally, with their different conditions and multitudes; and in these different worlds they choose the most opportune season to discipline all beings and to bring them to maturity; emitting a deep, full sound from every pore of the skin, which reverberates throughout the universe, they discourse on the teachings of all the Buddhas."

All these statements may sound too figurative, too fabulous, too fantastic to be seriously considered by the rationally-minded, so called. From the realistic point of view which upholds objective validity and sense-measurement as the sole standard of truth, the *Gaṇḍavyūha* fares rather ill. But we must remember that there is another point of view, especially in matters spiritual, which pays no attention to the rationalistic interpretation of our inner experiences. The human body, ordinarily or from the sense-point of view, occupies a limited area of space which can be measured, and continues to live also during a measurable period of time. And against this body there is the whole expanse of the universe including all the mountains and oceans on earth and also all the starry heavens. How can this body of ours be made to take in the entire objectivity? How can our insignificant, ignominious "hair-hole" or "pore of the skin" (*romakūpa*) be turned into a holy stage, where all the Tathagatas of the past, present, and future can congregate for their spiritual discourses? Obviously, this is an utter impossibility or the height of absurdity. But the strange fact is that when a door opens and a light shines from an unknown source into the dark chamber of conscious-

ness, all the time- and space-limitations dissolve away, and we make a Simhanāda (lion-roar), "Before Abraham was I am", or "I alone am the honoured one above and below all the heavens." The *Gaṇḍavyūha* is written always from this exalted point of view. If science surveys the objective world, and philosophy unravels intricacies of logic, Buddhism dives into the very abyss of being, and tells us in the directest possible manner all it sees under the surface.

4

Having acquainted ourselves with the general atmosphere in which the *Gaṇḍavyūha* moves, let us now proceed to see what are the constituents of the audience, that is, what are the particular characteristics of Bodhisattvahood as distinguished from those of Śrāvakahood. In other words, the question is concerned with the differentia of Mahāyāna Buddhism. When we know how the Bodhisattva is qualified in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, we know also how Bodhisattvahood differentiates itself from Śrāvakahood and what are the Mahāyāna thoughts as they are presented in this Sutra against those of the Hinayāna. For the opening chapter of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* emphatically sets up the Bodhisattvas against the Śrāvakas giving reasons why the latter are unable to participate like the Bodhisattvas in the development of the grand spiritual life.

The Bodhisattvas numbering five hundred are attending the assembly which takes place under the supervision of the Buddha in Jetavana. The same number of the Śrāvakas are also found among the audience. Of the Śrāvakas such names are mentioned as Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Revata, Subhūti, Aniruddha, Nandika, Kapphīṇa, Kātyāyana, Pūrṇa, Metrāyaṇīputra, etc., while Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī stand out prominently as the two leaders of the five hundred Bodhisattvas. The Bodhisattvas are all qualified as "having issued from the life and vows of Samantabhadra": (1) they are unattached in their conduct because they are

able to expand themselves in all the Buddha-lands; (2) they manifest innumerable bodies because they can go over everywhere there are Buddhas; (3) they are in possession of an unimpeded unspoiled eyesight because they can perceive the miraculous transformations of all the Buddhas; (4) they are able to visit anywhere without bounds because they never neglect appearing in all places where the Buddhas attain to their enlightenment; (5) they are in possession of a limitless light because they can illumine the ocean of all the Buddha-truths with their light of knowledge; (6) they have an inexhaustible power of eloquence through eternity because their speech has no taint; (7) they abide in the highest wisdom which knows no limits like space because their conduct is pure and free from taints; (8) they have no fixed abode because they reveal themselves personally in accordance with the thoughts and desires of all beings; (9) they are free from obscurities because they know that there are really no beings, no soul-substances in the world of beings; and finally (10) they are in possession of transcendental knowledge which is as vast as space because they illuminate all the Dharmadhātus with their net of light."

In another place where the Bodhisattvas visiting Jetavana from the ten quarters of the universe to contribute their shares in the grand demonstration of the Buddha's spiritual powers are characterised, we find among other things the following statements: "All the Bodhisattvas know that all beings are like *māyā*, that all the Buddhas are like shadows, that all existence with its rise and fall is like a dream, that all forms of karma are like images in a mirror, that the rising of all things is like a *fata morgana*, that all the worlds are mere transformations; further, the Bodhisattvas are all endowed with the ten powers, knowledge, dignity, and faith of the Tathagata, which enable them to roar like a lion; they have deeply delved into the ocean of inexhaustible eloquence, they have acquired the knowledge of explaining the truths for all beings; they are complete

masters of their conduct so that they move about in the world as freely as in space; they are in possession of all the miraculous powers belonging to a Bodhisattva; their strength and energy will crush the army of Māra; their knowledge-power penetrates into the past, present, and future; knowing that all things are like space, they practise non-resistance, and are not attached to them; though they work indefatigably for others, they know that when things are observed from the point of view of all-knowledge, nobody knows whence they come; though they recognise an objective world, they know that its existence is something unobtainable; they enter into all the worlds by means of incorruptible knowledge; in all the worlds they reveal themselves with the utmost freedom; they are born in all the worlds, take all forms; they transform a small area into an extended tract of land, and the latter again into a small area; all the Buddhas are revealed in one single moment of their thought; the powers of all the Buddhas are added on to them; they survey the entire universe in one glance and are not at all confused; they are able to visit all the worlds in one moment."

Against this characterisation of the Bodhisattvas, what have we for that of the five hundred Śrāvakas? According to the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, "They are enlightened in the self-nature of truth and reason, they have an insight into the limit of reality, they have entered into the essence of things, they are out of the ocean of becoming, they abide where the Buddha-merit is stored, they are released from the bondage of the Knots and Passions, they dwell in the house of non-attachment, they stay in the serenity of space, they have their desires, errors, and doubts wiped off by the Buddha, and they are rightly and faithfully devoted to the Buddha-ocean."

When Śrāvakahood is compared with Bodhisattvahood as they are here particularised, we at once perceive how cold, aloof, and philosophical the one is, in great contrast to the

spiritual activities and miraculous movements of the other. The Bodhisattva is always kept busy doing something for others, sometimes spreading himself all over the universe, sometimes appearing in one or another path of existence, sometimes destroying the army of evil ones, sometimes paying reverence and making offerings to the Buddhas of the past, present, and future. And in these movements he is perfectly at home, he goes on everywhere with the utmost ease and spontaneity as nothing impedes his manœuvring as a world-saviour. The Śrāvaka is on the other hand an intellectual recluse, his insight is altogether philosophical and has no religious fervour accompanying it, he is satisfied with what he has attained by himself, and has no desire stirred within himself to let others share also in his spiritual or rather metaphysical realisation. To him the Bodhisattva is much-adoing for nothing. To him the entire world of inconceivabilities is a closed book, and this is the very place where all the Bodhisattvas belong and find their reason of existence. How penetrating and perspicuous may be the intellect of the Śrāvaka, there is still a world altogether beyond his grasp.

This world, to use the *Gaṇḍavyūha* terminology, is where we find the Buddha's transformation (*vikurvita*), orderly arrangements (*vyūha*), superhuman virility (*vṛishabha*), playful activities (*vikrīḍita*), miracles (*pratihārya*), sovereignty (*pateyata*), wonderful performances (*caritavikurvita*), supreme power (*prabhāva*), sustaining power (*adhishṭhāna*), and land of purity (*kshetraparīśuddhi*). And again here is where the Bodhisattvas have their realms, their assemblies, their entrances, their comings-together, their visits, their transformations, their miracles, their groups, their quarters, their fine array of lion-seats, their palatial residences, their resting abodes, their transportation in Samādhi, their survey of the worlds, their energetic concentrations, their heroisms, their offerings to the Tathagatas, their certifications, their maturities, their energies, their Dharmakāyas of purity, their

knowledge-bodies of perfection, their vow-bodies in various manifestations, their material bodies in their perfected form, the fulfilment and purification of all their forms, the array of their boundless light-images, the spreading out of their great nets of lights, and the bringing forth of their transformation-clouds, the expansion of their bodies all over the ten quarters, the perfection of all their transformation-deeds, etc.

5

What are the causes and conditions that have come to differentiate Bodhisattvahood so much from Śrāvakahood?

The *Gaṇḍavyūha* does not forget to point out what causes are contributive to this remarkable differentiation, to tell what are the conditions that make the Śrāvakas altogether blind to the various manifestations and transformations going on in a most wonderful way at the assembly of the Bodhisattvas in Jetavana. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* gives the following reasons:

Because the stock of merit is not the same (1); because the Śrāvakas have not seen, and disciplined themselves in, the virtues of the Buddha (2); because they have not approved the notion that the universe is filled with Buddha-lands in all the ten quarters where there is a fine array of all Buddhas (3); because they have not given praise to the various wonderful manifestations put forward by the Buddhas (4); because they have not awakened the desire after supreme enlightenment attainable in the midst of transmigration (5); because they have not induced others to cherish the desire after supreme enlightenment (6); because they have not been able to continue the Tathagata-family (7); because they have not taken all beings under their protection (8); because they have not advised others to practise the Pāramitās of the Bodhisattva (9); because while yet in the transmigration of birth and death they have not persuaded others to seek for the most exalted wisdom-eye (10).

Further, because the Śrāvakas have not disciplined themselves in all the stock of merit from which issues all-knowledge (11); because they have not perfected all the stock of merit which makes the appearance of the Buddha possible (12); because they have not added to the enhancement of the Buddha-land by seeking for the knowledge of transformation (13); because they have not entered into the realm which is surveyed by the Bodhisattva-eye (14); because they have not sought the stock of merit which produces an incomparable insight going beyond this world (15); because they have not made any of the vows constituting Bodhisattva-hood (16); because they have not confirmed themselves to all that is the product of the Tathagata's sustaining power (17); because they have not realised that all things are like *māyā* and the Bodhisattvas are like a dream (18); because they have not attained the most exhilarating excitements (*prativega-vivardhana*) of the Bodhisattva (19); in short, because they have not realised all these spiritual states belonging to the wisdom-eye of Samantabhadra to which the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas are strangers (20).

So, concludes the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, all these great Śrāvakas such as Śāriputra, etc. have no stock of merit, no wisdom-eye, no Samādhi, no emancipation, no power of transformation, no sovereignty, no energy, no mastery, no abode, no realm, which enable them to get into the assemblage of the Bodhisattvas and participate in the performance of the great spiritual drama that is going on in Jetavana. As they have sought their deliverance according to the vehicle and way of Śrāvakahood, what they have accomplished does not go beyond Śrāvakahood. They have indeed gained the knowledge whereby the truth is made manifest, they are abiding in the limit of reality (*bhūtakoti*), they are enjoying the serenity of the ultimate (*atyantaśānti*); but they have no great compassionate all-embracing heart for all beings, for they are too intently occupied with their own doings (*ātma-kārya*) and have no mind to accumulate the Bodhisattva-

knowledge and to discipline themselves in it. They have their own realisation and emancipation, but they have no desire, make no vows to make others also find their resting abode in it. They do not thus understand what is really meant by the inconceivable power of the Tathagata.

To sum up, the Śrāvakas are yet under the covering of too great a karma-hindrance, they are unable to cherish such great vows as are done by the Bodhisattvas for the spiritual welfare of all beings, their insight is not clear and penetrating enough to see into all the secrets of life, they have not yet opened what is designated as the wisdom-eye (*jñānacakshus*) in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, wherewith a Bodhisattva takes in at a glance all the wonders and inconceivabilities of the spiritual realm to its deepest abyss. How superficial, compared to this, is the philosophical insight of the Śrāvakas!

6

The *Gaṇḍavyūha* gives us several parables to tell more graphically about the conditions of Śrāvakahood under which its followers are still labouring. Let me quote one or two.

Along the river Gangā there are millions of millions of hungry ghosts (*preta*) all naked and tormented with hunger and thirst; they feel as if their bodies were burning; and their lives are threatened every minute by birds and beasts of prey. Thirst impels them to seek for water, but they cannot find it anywhere even though they are right close to the river. Some see it, but there is no water but the dried-up bed. Why? Because their karma-hindrance lies too heavy on them. In the same way, these great learned philosophical Śrāvakas, even though they are in the midst of the large assembly of the Bodhisattvas, are not capable of recognising the grand miracles of the Tathagata. For they have relinquished all-knowledge (*sarvajñatā*) owing to the ignorance-cataract covering their eyes; for they have never

planted their stock of merit in the soil of all-knowledge.

In the Himālaya mountains many kinds of medicinal herbs are found, and they are distinguished by an experienced doctor each according to its specific qualities. But all these are not recognised by the hunters, nor by the herdsmen, who may frequent these regions, because they have no eye for them. In the same way, the Bodhisattvas who have entered into a realm of transcendental knowledge and gained a spiritual power over form are able to see the Tathagatas and their grand display of miracles. But the Elders, the Śrāvakas, in the midst of these wonderful events, cannot see them, because they are satisfied only with their own deeds (*svakārya*), and not at all concerned with others' spiritual welfare.

To give another parable: Here is a man in a large congregation of people. He happens to fall asleep, and in a dream he is suddenly transported to the summit of Mount Sumeru where Śakrendra has his magnificent palatial residence. There are a large number of mansions, pavilions, gardens, lakes, etc., each in its full splendour. There are also celestial beings incalculable in number, the grounds are strewn with heavenly flowers, the trees are decorated with beautiful robes, and the flowers are in full bloom. Most exquisite music is played among the trees whose branches and leaves emit of their own accord pleasing sounds, and these go on in harmonious concert with the melodious singing of the celestial damsels. The dancers innumerable and attired in resplendent garments are enjoying themselves on the terrace. The man is now no more a bystander to these scenes, for he is one of the participants himself apparelled in heavenly fashion, and going around among the inhabitants of Sudarśana as if he belonged to them from the beginning.

These phenomena however have never come to be noticed by any other mortals who are congregated here, for what is perceived by the man is a vision only given to him. In a similar manner, the Bodhisattvas are able to see all the

wonderful sights in the world taking place under the direction of the Buddha's power. For they have been accumulating their stock of merit for ever so many kalpas, making vows based on all-knowledge which know no bounds in time and space. For, again, they have studied all the virtues of the Buddhas, disciplining themselves in the way of Bodhisattvahood, and then perfecting themselves for the attainment of all-knowledge. In short, they have fulfilled all the vows of Samantabhadra and lived his life of devotion, whereas the Śrāvakas have no pure insight belonging to the Bodhisattvas.

7

From these quotations and delineations, we have now, I hope, a general background of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* more or less clearly outlined, and from them also we gather the following ideas which are really the contents of at least the opening chapter of the Sutra, while they also give us a further glimpse into the essence of the Mahayana teaching generally.

1. There is a world which is not of this world, though inseparable from it.

2. The world where we ordinarily move is characterised with limitations of all sorts. Each individual reality holds itself against others, which is indeed its self-nature (*svabhāva*). But in the world of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* known as Dharmadhātu, individual realities are enfolded in one great reality, and this great reality is found participated by each individual one. Not only this, but each individual existence contains in itself all other individual existences as such. Thus there is a universal interpenetration so called in the Dharmadhātu.

3. These supernatural phenomena cannot take place in a world where darkness and obduracy prevail, because then a penetration would be impossible. If a penetration should take place in these conditions it would mean the general breaking-up of all individual realities, which is a chaos.

4. Therefore, the Dharmadhātu is a world of lights not accompanied by any form of shade. The essential nature of light is to intermingle without interfering or obstructing or destroying one another. One single light reflects in itself all other lights generally and individually. Thus, light symbolises spirituality.

5. This is not a philosophical interpretation of existence reached by cold logical reasoning, nor is it a symbolical representation of the imagination. It is a world of real spiritual experience.

6. Spiritual experience is like sense-experience. It is direct, and tells us directly all that it has experienced without resorting to imagination or ratiocination. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* is to be understood in this manner, that is, as a document recording one's actual spiritual life.

7. This realm of spirit belongs to the Bodhisattva and not to the Śrāvaka. The latter serenely abides in a world of intellectual intuition and monotony, supremely above the endlessly intermingling world of particulars and multiplicities. The Bodhisattva has a loving heart, and his is a life of devotion and self-sacrifice given up to a world of individualities.

8. A society of spiritual beings is approachable only by means of a great loving heart (*mahākaruṇā*), a great friendly spirit (*mahāmaitrī*), morality (*śīla*), great vows (*pranidhāna*), miraculous powers (*abhijñā*), purposelessness (*anabhisamkāra*), perfect disinterestedness (*anāyūha*), skilful means born of transcendental wisdom (*prajñopāya*), and transformations (*nirmāṇa*).*

9. As these attributes are lacking in Śrāvakahood, its devotees are not allowed to join the congregation of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Even when they are in it they are incapable of appreciating all that goes on in such assemblages. The Mahayana is more than mere Emptiness, a great social spirit is moving behind it.

* From Maitreya's instructions given to Sudhana.

10. Lastly, we must remember that there is a sustaining power (*adhishṭhāna*) behind all these spiritual phenomena that are going on in Jetavana, and also behind all those transformation-Bodhisattvas who have gathered around the Buddha. This power comes from the Buddha himself. He is the great centre and source of illumination. He is the sun whose light reaches the darkest corners of the universe and yet leaves no shadow anywhere. The Buddha of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* is therefore called Mahāvairocana-Buddha, the Buddha of Great Illumination.

8

In conclusion, let me quote the verse uttered by one of the Bodhisattvas in praise of the virtues of the Buddha, by which we can see in what relationship he stands to his devotees:

"1. The great Muni, the best of the Śākya, is furnished with all the perfect virtues; and those who see him are purified in mind and turn towards the Mahayana.

"2. That the Tathagata appears in the world is to benefit all beings; out of a great compassionate heart he revolves the wheel of the Dharma.

"3. The Buddha has for ages gone through many a heart-rending experience for the sake of sentient beings; and how can they requite him for what they owe him?

"4. Rather suffer in the evil paths of existence all that there is in them for ever so many kalpas, than seek emancipation somewhere else by abandoning the Buddha.

"5. Rather suffer all the pain that may befall all beings, than find comfort where there are no Buddhas to see.

"6. Rather abide in the evil paths of existence if the Buddha's name can all the time be heard, than be born in the pleasant paths and never have the chance to hear him.

"7. Rather be born in the hells however long one has to stay in each one of them, than be delivered therefrom by cutting oneself away from the Buddha.

“8. Why? Because even though one may stay long in the evil paths, one’s wisdom will ever be growing if only the Buddha is to be seen.

“9. When the Buddha, the lord of the world, is to be seen somewhere, all pain will be eradicated; and one will enter into a realm of great wisdom which belongs to the Tathagata.

“10. When the Buddha, the peerless one, is to be seen somewhere, all the hindrances will be cleared away, and infinite bliss will be gained and the way of enlightenment perfected.

“11. When the Buddha is seen, he will cut asunder all the doubts cherished by all beings, and give them satisfaction each according to his aspirations, worldly and super-worldly.”

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

THE PURE LAND DOCTRINE AS ILLUSTRATED IN SHŌKŪ'S "PLAIN-WOOD" NEMBUTSU

I

INTRODUCTION

It seems to us that there is a universal misconception in the West concerning the nature of Pure Land Buddhism, interpreting it as a kind of salvation doctrine in its Christian form. Strictly speaking, the word salvation is not appropriate for the work Pure Land Buddhism proposes to effect. It may be more proper to call it a form of self-enlightenment. Because it is not a doctrine which teaches us deliverance from sin and its consequences. On the other hand, it teaches us how to get free from the bondage of birth and death and attain peace of mind by exhausting our own will-power which originates from egoism.

It is true that the Pure Land doctrine disapproves of self-power (*jiriki*) and upholds other-power (*tariki*), but we must remember the words "self" and "other" here are not used in their relative sense, that is to say, when the Pure Land followers speak of self-power they refer by it to a relative world, while by other-power is meant a realm where there is no more relativity, for in the realm of other-power there is no distinction between given and giving, between received and receiving. It is where transcendental unity prevails.

The Pure Land doctrine emphasises the signification of our sin. It holds that we are sinful mortals suffering the pain of birth and death from time immemorial, wandering through the six paths of existence, because we know no clue whatever as to the way to escape from transmigration. But the Pure Land follower's conception of sin is

different from that of Christians. We are sinful not because we have transgressed the laws of God who is the creator, but because we are ignorant of the truth, *tathatā*, or suchness of things. As the result, all that we do is evil, not only such deeds as are generally considered evil, but also even such as are recognised as good by men of the world. As this existence dualistically conceived is sin as the result of our ignorance of truth, so our existence itself, according to the Pure Land believers, is something to be abandoned as the creation of self-power. When this abandonment is effected, we are reborn to a world of higher order where we are united with Buddha.

The foundation of Pure Land doctrine is laid upon the Forty-Eight Vows of Amida who vowed them in order to lead all sentient beings to his own Pure Land where they all can attain Buddhahood. To make the vows effective, he contemplated for five eons and practised austerities for endless eons and finally attained Buddhahood; and thereby all sentient beings are now assured as to their rebirth into his Land of Purity which is under his government. This land is situated in the western quarter beyond hundreds of thousands of millions of lands, where his believers are reborn to attain Buddhahood. To effect the rebirth into Amida's Land of Purity, what is required of believers is simply to recite the name of Buddha. This may sound quite easy—this reciting of Buddha's name. But in fact this is just as hard as is experienced by followers of Zen, for example, who endeavour to attain *satori* after so many years' self-discipline. Self-power asserts itself in spite of the desperate attempt which devotees of Nembutsu put forward in order to be taken into the Land of Amida. Self-power is such an obstinate instinct in all of us, to uproot which more than our will-power is needed. When this will-power comes to an end, we throw ourselves at the feet of Buddha who will now pick us up in his boat of salvation to cross the ocean of birth and death. Let me remark here that Amitābha

Buddha and his Land are not to be conceived of as belonging to a world of relations. This being the case, the salvation offered by the Pure Land doctrine is not to be identified with that of Christianity. If we could say so, the Christian salvation still is on this side of existence where dualism prevails, whereas that of the Pure Land is in a realm of the absolute, that is, of *tariki* in its transcendental sense. Masters of the Pure Land doctrine have tried in various ways to bring forth this characteristic point in the doctrine of *tariki* salvation. In the following we have the document known as "Shiraki no Nembutsu" or "Plain-wood Nembutsu", which was written by Shōkū, founder of the Seizan branch of the Pure Land Sect, and which will help us to understand what is really meant by *tariki* salvation.

II

THE PLAIN-WOOD NEMBUTSU

"Those of the self-power apply some paints to the Nembutsu. Some colour it with the enlightenment of Mahayana doctrine, some with profound learning, some with the observance of morality, some with tranquillisation of body and mind. Some are exulted to be assured of their rebirth in the Pure Land, because they have practised the Nembutsu tinged with contemplation or morality; while others feel dejected over their inability of being reborn there, because their Nembutsu is not coloured with any paint. Both the exultation and the dejection are delusions which come from their reliance on self-power.

"The Nembutsu which, according to the *Larger Sukhāvativyūha Sūtra*, will last for one hundred years after the disappearance of the Right Law, and the Nembutsu which the *Meditation Sūtra* prescribes for the three inferior grades of beings, is the plain-wood Nembutsu, devoid of all paints. 'Believing with serene thought' in the Original Vow of Amida was understood by Zendō to mean 'repeating the

name of Amida ten times', and this is no other than to return to a plain-wood state of mind.

"The lowest grade of being so called in the *Meditation Sūtra* means an ordinary mortal with no merit, worldly or unworldly. In him there is no paint whatever with which to colour the Nembutsu. Is he not moreover a being who is oppressed with the agony of death not knowing what to do, as he has lost all his control over his speech, body, and thought? He has been a wicked man through his life, so he has acquired no merit on which he can specially rely. Now at this last moment he is harassed with the pangs of death, and has no time to think of ceasing from evils and practising virtues, nor can he be mindful of enlightenment taught by the various schools of Buddhism. In this state of mind he cannot think of erecting a pagoda or a statue, nor has he time to think of abandoning the life of a householder and of worldly enjoyments. He is indeed the most wicked of all beings. He knows of no means whereby to save himself.

"A teacher may try to awaken him to the faith, hoping that he will comprehend the meaning of other-power or that he will meditate on the mystery of the Buddha's name. But neither of these hopes avails, since the pangs of death harass him to the extreme and his mental powers are gradually leaving him. The teacher may now take up another form of teaching, that is, the recitation of Buddha's name, telling him to call out the Amida's name aloud even if he fails to fix his mind on Amida. Thereupon, the man utters the name of Amida ten times, though his mind is in a state of perfect confusion. Each utterance then cancels his sins of eighty thousand millions of kalpas, and he will get the favour of seeing the 'Golden Lotus like the Sun'. In this state, he has no special wish to be enlightened, nor is he tainted with any paint of contemplation or morality. And yet he will be reborn in the Pure Land by virtue of uttering the Buddha's name in a plain-wood state of mind, while he knows of no contrivance other than following the advice of

the teacher. This is likened to a child learning how to write with its hand guided by another; the child has no claim for the writing. So is the practice of the Nembutsu of the lowest grade of being. Guided by the teacher and embraced by the merciful heart of Amida, this simple utterance of His name enables the sinner to be reborn in the Pure Land.

“The Original Vow of Amida is the Vow and Work, whereby He practised austerities for the sake of those who are heavily burdened with the five deadly sins. Therefore, it is in the plain-wood Nembutsu which is uttered [at the time of death] when one’s mental powers are exhausted, that one finds Amida’s Vow contemplated for five kalpas and His merit accumulated for endless ages all livingly active. This Nembutsu of one thought holds in it all the birth and death of endless duration, and accomplishes in one utterance all the discipline of countless eons.

“Again the Nembutsu which, according to the *Larger Sukhāvativyūha Sūtra*, will continue after the disappearance of the Three Treasures,¹ is also the plain-wood Nembutsu. The reason is: Sutras, Sastras, and Vinayas, Hinayana as well as Mahayana, being all stowed away in the palace of Nagas, the Three Treasures will no more be seen in this world. Then in this Jambudvīpa, there will be nothing left but ignorant beings and their evils, and the word ‘good’ will be unknown. With the disappearance of the Vinaya texts in which the moral life is taught, where should we go for instruction to stop our evil-doings and to practise good deeds? When the Sutra which teaches us how to cherish the desire after enlightenment has already disappeared among us, to which Sutra should we look for enlightenment? As there is no one who knows this truth, there is no way to learn it. Therefore, the sole reality that will be still abiding in this world, will be the plain-wood Nembutsu, containing the Buddha’s name in six characters,² devoid of all sorts of

¹ The Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha.

² Namuamidabutsu consists of six Chinese characters, 南無阿彌陀佛.

colouring, contemplative or moral. It is said in this Sutra that those who then hear and recite the name shall all be reborn in the Pure Land. That they are all reborn there by reciting the name once or for ten times, means that those beings who are outside of Buddhism are able to be reborn there simply by virtue of the Buddha's name recited in a plain-wood way.

"Some may say that we of this age are by far superior to those beings who may be living in the last days of Buddhism, because we are still in possession of Sutras and Sastras, Hinayana as well as Mahayana. But being of imperfect nature we have nothing superior to those who come when the Three Treasures are gone. Though Buddhism may still be prevalent at present, our nature is so imperfect that we have no power sufficient to practise the three kinds of discipline.¹ Though there are Sutras and Sastras, Hinayana as well as Mahayana, we have no ardour enough to study them assiduously. Such imperfect beings as we are have no desire to be enlightened, are born in vain in these days of Buddhism. If this is the case when the Three Treasures are gone, we may say that the matter cannot be improved. But we are living now in the time when Buddhism is still flourishing, and that we have no desire to observe morality and practise meditation and wisdom, shows that we are imperfect and not at all in the way of enlightenment. Amida's Vow-power is thoroughly perfected when it comes upon us so benighted. That is why we cannot be too grateful for the plain-wood Nembutsu. On our part we are lacking in faith and work, and our thoughts succeeding one another are full of folly. Delusions growing out of our false attachment and perverseness are growing stronger everyday and evil karma and evil passions are assailing us night and day. The Nembutsu that comes from such a defiled being may be regarded as not different from an act

¹ The observance of morality, tranquillisation of body and mind, and profound learning.

of evil passion, and it is not even coloured with any virtue, contemplative or moral; but in the Buddha's name once recited, all the virtues of all the Buddhas are concentrated, and on that account the mind-water is not muddied and the supreme virtue is produced. The Namuamidabutsu which is recited simply in the belief that by the recitation our rebirth in the Pure Land is assured, without any effort on our part and thoroughly absorbed in this thought, is the Nembutsu required in the Original Vow of Amida. This is what I call the plain-wood Nembutsu."

III

EXPOSITORY

Shōkū and "the Plain-wood Nembutsu"

Those who are interested in the growth of Pure Land Buddhism in Japan cannot afford to ignore the name of Shōkū. He was one of the most prominent disciples of Hōnen, the founder of the Nembutsu Sect of Buddhism, and finally became himself the founder of the Seizan Branch of the Nembutsu Sect. He had many noted disciples and his spiritual influence was great. Ippen, the founder of the Ji Sect which is also a branch of the Nembutsu school, draws his inspirations from the teaching of Shōkū.

"The Plain-wood Nembutsu" here translated is a brief but excellent statement concerning the doctrine of Nembutsu. It is said that he wrote this discourse with the purpose of making his doctrine intelligible even to the unlettered. In spite of its plain wording it expounds in a most remarkable manner the profound significance of the doctrine, and its value is not limited to the unlettered. It is composed of two parts. The first paragraph which is brief makes reference to the Nembutsu of the *jiriki* follower, which Shōkū designates as coloured, meaning that it is not free from *jiriki* pigments. In the second and the following paragraphs he compares the pure and colourless Nembutsu of the *tiriki*

follower to a piece of wood untouched, unsoiled by the dirt of relativity and dualism. According to Shōkū, the only way in which we become united with Buddha is to awaken in us a state of consciousness in which Nembutsu is recited colourlessly.

The Difference Between Tariki and Jiriki

Self-power (*jiriki*) and other-power (*tariki*) are technical terms whereby the Pure Land believers express the philosophy of their religious experiences, and they advise us to give up *jiriki* and take to *tariki*. The interpretation of these two terms, *jiriki* and *tariki*, varies according to the different teachers of the Pure Land doctrine, resulting in the evolution of the different schools. I confine myself here to the exposition of Shōkū's point of view in regard to self-power and other-power.

According to him, the difference does not lie in the outward behaviour but the inner consciousness of the believers. He says:

"Suppose there are two persons reciting Nembutsu before Buddha. As far as their outward appearances go, they are the same, but [innerly] there is a wide difference; the one is the *tariki* follower while the other the *jiriki*.

"The *jiriki* follower sincerely wants to have the desire to be reborn in the Pure Land and asks Buddha surely to implant that desire in him. As he thinks that, when his desire is sincere and his distrust of worldly life is by no means feeble, Buddha will not fail to receive him in the Pure Land, so he feels encouraged about the nearness of his rebirth when his believing heart grows stronger; but he feels discouraged as if his rebirth were a most distant fact if his mind is full of delusions and becomes ungovernable. Apparently he is an earnest seeker of religious faith, but really he is further away from the Vow of Amida. As he tries to work out his rebirth by his own efforts, he is further away from the Mercy of Buddha.

"But it is not so with the *tarikī* follower. The less capable he finds himself of stopping evil thoughts and of desiring for his rebirth in the Pure Land, the more keenly he is awakened to the sense of gratitude for Buddha's Vow and discipline. If Buddha's Vow-power nourished in his meditation for five kalpas were not the devotee's own desire and discipline for rebirth, I would no more cherish the hope of rebirth; but as is the case, I feel so grateful for the fact that our own desire and discipline for rebirth had already been fulfilled on the part of Buddha. This being so, his Nembutsu may continue night and day, there is nothing of *jiriki* Nembutsu in him. Each Nembutsu as it is recited fulfils the merit of *tarikī*."¹

Here we see the difference between *tarikī* and *jiriki*: the *jiriki* follower is uncertain of his rebirth and endeavours to work it out by destroying his evil passions, while the *tarikī* is convinced of his rebirth and all his evil passions are converted into opportunities of feeling grateful towards Buddha. What then is the cause of this difference? The *jiriki* consciousness is that he is strong enough to destroy his evil passions all by himself, while the *tarikī* feels that he is too weak to cope successfully with his own sins.

Human Nature

Is our nature really too feeble to destroy evil thoughts and passions and to practise works good enough for a rebirth in the Pure Land?

"Good works may be grouped under two heads, contemplation (*jōzen*) and morality (*sanzen*). Contemplation keeps mind collected so that nothing of evil thought would ever creep into it. Morality stops evil doings and practises good deeds with utmost vigilance.

"But we are not able to practise contemplation. When we try, we soon grow confused being attacked by various delusive thoughts. When we endeavour to meditate on the

¹ *Jutsujō* 述誠

sublime views of the Pure Land, worldly affairs are sure to upset us. When we try to meditate on the excellent features of Buddha, our minds are perturbed by the six senses. Our ears seem to be listening to the teaching of Buddhism, but innerly we have arrogance and evil thoughts more tempestuous than the ocean. In our mouth we speak of the emptiness of things, but in our heart egotism towers higher than a mountain.

"Nor can we practise morality. When we wish to practise it, evil deeds are multiplied and nothing good is accomplished. We are not filial to parents, nor are we truthful to our elders. Though our heads are shaven and our bodies are wrapped in the monkish robe, our actual life is far from being in accord with the rules of discipline. As there are very few true followers of Buddhism who are faithfully observing all the disciplines, to whom should we go for instruction even when we desire so? As there is no serious wish for Mahayana enlightenment, we find ourselves to be mere seekers of fame and profit instead of doing seriously what is good. Even though there is a touch of good intention, it is like writing on water; waves of greed and anger are too high, no traces of goodness are left."¹

Buddha

Jiriki followers are ignorant not only of human nature but of Buddha. Buddha is conceived by them as one who keeps himself away from them and to whom they do not stand in an intimate relationship; for this reason they want to win Buddha over to their side by their own efforts. On the other hand, *tariki* followers know their own impotence to attain Buddhahood by performing any good work, and they realise how closely Buddha is related to them.

Shoku illustrates this close relation between Buddha and *tariki* followers in these three respects: "Intimate", "Near", and "Helpful".

¹ *Nyogingosho* 女院御書

“First, by ‘intimate’ relation I mean that Buddha’s virtues in his threefold activity pertaining to body, speech, and thought, are not separable from our evil deeds which will be committed with our threefold activity pertaining to body, speech, and thought, because Buddha is an Unobstructible Light which constitutes the essence of Buddhahood and to which he attained in order to bring all sentient beings under his protection, no matter how imperfect and ignorant they may be. Hence it is said that, when we recite his name, he hears us; when we worship him, he sees us; when we think of him, he knows it. This means that when we trust in him without troubling ourselves about how good or how bad our hearts are, Buddha hears our recitation, sees us worshipping him, and knows us thinking of him, and he is sure all these deeds are decidedly leading us to rebirth in the Pure Land. This is why Zendō says that Buddha’s threefold activity (pertaining to body, speech, and thought) is inseparable from our threefold activity (pertaining to body, speech, and thought).

“Secondly, by ‘near’ relation I mean that we can see Buddha when we long to see him, because when this ‘intimate’ relationship between Buddha and ourselves has reached its height, he knows all about our threefold activity pertaining to body, speech, and thought, and at the same time we come to know Buddha’s threefold activity pertaining to body, speech, and thought. It is also due to this relation that Buddha appears to us in a dream or at the time of death.

“Thirdly, by ‘helpful’ relation I mean that the above-mentioned two relations between Buddha and ourselves are effected by other-power (*tariki*). As Zendō says, ‘all sentient beings who recite his name shall get rid of all their sins for which they have to suffer through countless kalpas. When their lives draw near to the end, Buddha and his holy retinue come to welcome them, and all their evil deeds and karma relations would offer no hindrance whatever. This is what we call helpful relation.’ The sentence, ‘all sentient

beings who recite his name shall rid of all their sins for which they have to suffer through countless kalpas', explains the 'intimate' relation effected by *tarikī*, and the following sentence, 'when their lives draw near to the end....would offer no hindrance whatever', explains the 'near' relation effected by *tarikī*. Therefore, this 'helpful' relation expresses other-power (*tarikī*) by which the above-mentioned two relations are effected.

"When we understand this, our recitation of his name which is according to the 'intimate' relation between Buddha and ourselves cancels all our sins for which we have to suffer through countless kalpas. Actuated by this cancellation of sins, we shall surely come to tremble at evils and abandon them altogether never allowing ourselves to be influenced by them. Again, our seeing of Buddha which is the 'near' relation perfects the highest virtue. Impelled by this virtue, we rejoice at the good we have done, and our hearts are bent more than ever on practising good. This is what is meant by the so-called 'helpful' relation."¹

In this manner Buddha is closely related to all sentient beings. Why is this so? Because Amida, while he was in his Bodhisattvahood, vowed that all sentient beings should be reborn in his Pure Land, through the merit of good works carried out by himself; and finally through this merit he attained enlightenment, proving that all sentient beings' rebirth in the Pure Land has thus become an accomplished fact. Therefore, when we believe in his Vows he enters into our hearts thereby attaining his enlightenment, and at the same time assuring our own rebirth. This being the case, we should not keep Buddha away from us but feel embraced by Buddha believing that Buddha's Vows and works are the cause of our own rebirth.

Rebirth and the Nembutsu

Our rebirth in the Pure Land is assured when we have

¹ Shoku's letter to Yoritsune.

the faith that Buddha embraces all sentient beings who do not know how to escape transmigration. This must not be regarded, however, as a kind of creed; because it is not a dogma but an experience. Therefore Shōkū says: "Even though we may understand what *tarikī* is or recite Buddha's name, we are not yet to be called *tarikī* believers, if we think that our understanding of *tarikī* or our recitation of Buddha's name is all by ourselves. We are called true *tarikī* believers, only when we have an actual experience of unification with the Buddha and recite his name."¹

It is not we but Amida who awakens us to this unification and occupies our being by entering into ourselves. "When we were *jiriki* believers, we had to run after Buddha asking him to save us; but when we become *tarikī*, we realise that Amida has been running after us all the time. Only because we did not know this, we had to transmigrate."²

Shōkū thinks that this is why the *Meditation Sūtra* teaches that even the gravest sinner is reborn in the Pure Land by reciting the Nembutsu at the moment of his death. This "is not due to his understanding of this truth, but due to the following fact, that harassed by the death-agony and though not realising how, putting a stop to the *jiriki* thought of running after Buddha, he utters *Namu-amida-butsu*, which is thus naturally in harmony with *tarikī* thought of Nembutsu."³

Shōkū also thinks⁴ that this is why the *Larger Sukhāvativyūha Sūtra* teaches that the Nembutsu will last for one hundred years after the disappearance of the Right Law and that those who will then hear and recite the Nembutsu will be able to be reborn in the Pure Land. That they are assured to be reborn there is not due to their merit but to their having nothing but Buddha's name. As there is nothing but the Nembutsu, the recitation naturally makes the mind of the devotee become concentrated in the Nembutsu

¹ *Tahitsushō* 他筆抄.

²⁻³ *Jutsujō* 達職

⁴ Cp. "the Plain-wood Nembutsu."

itself, and it is by the strength of this concentration that they are reborn in the Pure Land.

Thus our rebirth is not the thing which is worked out by our own efforts but the thing which is assured to us at the moment when our mind is united with Amida's by abandoning our self-thought which necessarily issues from egoistic impulses. The same can be said of the Nembutsu, because our saying it is not the work of *jiriki* which seeks salvation through the Nembutsu, but because it is recited out of the simple naive belief in the assurance given by the Buddha for our rebirth in the Pure Land. This is what is meant by the Nembutsu not requiring any "colouring" of good works. Shōkū compares the Nembutsu to the virginity of plain wood.

Spiritual Rest

When our rebirth in the Pure Land is thus assured by the Nembutsu which is given in the Original Vow of Amida, there is a state of spiritual rest in which we have the feeling that Buddha is always present with us. So we have: "Even though your nights are passed in sleep, you are active with Amida in accumulating various virtues. Even though your days are spent busy in worldly matters, you are enjoying with Amida the perfect serenity of his inmost realisation."¹

It is a state of mind full of joy and exultation in the assurance of one's rebirth in the Pure Land, though one is imperfect and too feeble to do anything good. "Even though your nature is imperfect," according to Shōkū, "you need not be mortified; for there is Amida's Vow which embraces such inferior souls. Even though your meritorious work is small, you need not doubt your rebirth in the Pure Land; for in the Sutra it is said, 'If you should have repeated my name, say, ten times, and if you should not be reborn in my Pure Land, I might not obtain the perfect enlightenment'."²

¹⁻² *Chinkwanyōjin* 鎮勸要心

With this spiritual rest one comes back to the world where rules of morality are observed. "As far as the *jiriki* rules our heart, all our doings are false; but when *jiriki* is replaced by *tariki*, all that we do is true."¹ "As soon as we realise our weakness in doing good, real goodness is performed. For it is born of *tariki*."²

Shōkū strongly warns against those who misunderstand Amida's saving power of the wicked, for they are apt to grow all the more addicted to the commission of evil deeds. "You should not imagine that you may commit crime," says he, "just because it is taught that Amida loves even a grave sinner. It is on the part of Buddha that he will save grave sinners, and not on the part of sinners. Nor are you to think that the repeated recitation of Buddha's name is to no purpose, as according to the sutra our rebirth is already assured by saying the Nembutsu once for all. Just because of Buddha's assurance sinners such as you are embraced in his love, so you are to grieve over your evil deeds and recite the name of Buddha as frequently as you can."³

In brief, Shōkū's doctrine of *tariki* is to find our spiritual rest where we become united to Buddha by believing his Vows and Works, by realising our utter inability to achieve our own salvation without Buddha's mercy working within ourselves; it is this state of mind that we come back to this world and practise whatever good works we can according to our own individual capacities.

The Nembutsu by Other Pure Land Masters

What corresponds to this "plain-wood Nembutsu" of Shōkū is the "Independent Nembutsu" of Hōnen, his master and the father of Pure Land Buddhism in Japan. It runs thus: "Set the Nembutsu on its own legs, as is given in the Original Vow. Do not seek assistance in any other work.

¹⁻² *Jutsujō* 達誠

³ *Nyōingoshō* 女院御書

Those who seek assistance in any other work shall be reborn in the outskirts of the Pure Land. To seek assistance in any other work means to seek assistance in wisdom, to seek assistance in morality, to seek assistance in the wish for enlightenment, and to seek assistance in charity. Therefore, let a good man practise the Nembutsu as he is, let a bad man practise the Nembutsu as he is; just to practise the Nembutsu according to his inborn nature is what I mean by the Nembutsu not seeking assistance in any other work."¹

Again, the "Plain-wood Nembutsu" corresponds to Shinran's Nembutsu which he defines as "not being as special deed of merit or of goodness." Shinran was Shōkū's fellow-disciple and the founder of the Shin Sect. We read in his Tannisho VIII: "The Nembutsu is neither a deed of merit nor one of goodness, as is practised by the believers. It is not a deed of merit because it is not that which should be practised by our self-efforts. It is not a deed of goodness because it is not that which should be practised by our self-efforts. It is solely due to Other-power, therefore, it is not a deed of merit nor one of goodness, as is practised by the believers."

Shinran in another place defines the Nembutsu as "Irrational" that is, beyond logical calculation. "The master (Shinran) said in regard to the Nembutsu that its reason is where it transcends all reasonings because it is inexpressible, indefinable, and inconceivable." In one of his letters, Shinran says: "Reasoning is contrivance, contrivance is on the side of devotees which means self-power, and it is called reasoning. As other-power lies where the Original Vow is believed and rebirth in the Pure Land is assured, there is no reasoning whatever in this. Therefore, it is called 'Irrational'."

Ippen, the founder of the Ji Sect, who was inspired by Shōkū's teaching, treats the Nembutsu in a similar manner. He says:¹ "Do not give a foundation to the Nembutsu.

¹ *Wagotōroku* 和語燈錄

What enables you to be reborn in the Pure Land is neither your deed of goodness, nor our way of saying it, nor your way of acting, nor your mental attitude towards it; just say *Namu-amida-butsu*. It is enough."

All these statements by the masters of Pure Land Buddhism—the "Independent" *Nembutsu*, the "Irrational" *Nembutsu*, the *Nembutsu* "not being of any special deed of merit nor of goodness", the *Nembutsu* "without any foundation", and the "Plain-wood" *Nembutsu*—they all aim at attaining the one and same end which is our union with Buddha. Here we naturally come back to Hōnen's "One Sheet Document" which was given as the last message to Genchi, one of his disciples. It runs thus: "The *Nembutsu* is not the practice of meditation on Buddha nor the invocation of Buddha's name which is practised as the result of study and understanding as to the meaning of the *Nembutsu*. It is just to recite the name of Amida, without doubting that this will issue in the rebirth of the believer in the Pure Land. Just this, and no other consideration is needed...."

Just to recite *Namu-amida-butsu*, without doubting that this will issue in the rebirth of the believer in the Pure Land—this is the secret of Pure Land Buddhism by which its followers are enabled to free themselves from the bondage of birth and death.

SHIZUTOSHI SUGIHIRA

¹ His *Sayings*, 一邇語錄

THE TEMPLES OF KAMAKURA

IV*

Kamakura has always been associated with religion and it has been a stronghold of Buddhism. The sects which have had most influence and power are Zen and Nichiren, but other schools of Buddhism are also represented. The Daibutsu in Kōtoku-In and the Kwannon-do at Hase belong to Jodo. There are other temples belonging to Jodo, others to Shingon, besides many Shinto shrines which have affiliations with Buddhism, for they were founded in the days of Ryōbu Shinto when Buddhism and Shinto stood religiously close together.

One of the most ancient fanes is the Sugimoto-no-Kwannon which was founded by the priest Gyōgi Bosatsu in the year 734 c. e. It belongs to the Shingon sect and was founded before the days of Yoritomo and Zen influence. The chief object of worship is the Eleven-faced Kwannon (Kwanzeon Bosatsu) and is said to be by the hand of the great sculptor Unkei and was presented to the temple by the celebrated Shōgun Yoritomo.

There are many forms of Kwannon, but the most frequently seen are:—1. The Shō-Kwannon (the Wise). This Kwannon is represented standing or sitting but generally in the former position, holding a lotus flower. 2. Juichimen Kwannon (the Eleven-faced). On her head are eleven faces. 3. The Senju Kwannon (Thousand-handed) has in reality forty hands but these are supposed to stand for the thousand. In each of these hands she holds various Buddhist emblems, the lotus flower, rosary, the wheel of the law, rope, begging bowl, vase, the sun, the moon, pagoda, etc., and in her head are images of the Buddha. 4. Batō Kwannon (Horse-

* This concludes the series of articles on "The Temples of Kamakura." For previous articles see *Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. III, Nos. 2 and 4, and Vol. V, Nos. 2-3.

headed) has three heads, above the central one being the image of a horse and six pairs of arms each hand holding emblems. 5. The Nyoirin Kwannon (the Jewel) is seated with one knee elevated and resting her head upon one hand. This Kwannon has as a rule two arms but sometimes more. The representation of many heads and arms is to show that Kwannon is ever ready to see and hear distress and having seen and heard to succour.

“When the love of Kwannon is made concrete, it expresses itself in various forms according to the needs of circumstance. In the *Pundarika Sutra* Kwannon is described as incarnating herself in many different personages. For instance, when she sees it most expedient to save a certain class of people through a certain mode of expression, she will assume the special mode and exercise all her influence in that capacity. She will be a philosopher, or merchant, or man of letters, or person of low birth, or anything else as required by the occasion, while her sole aim is to deliver all beings, without exception, from ignorance and selfishness. Therefore, wherever there is a heart groping in the dark, Kwannon will not fail to extend her embracing arms.”¹

The Eleven-faced Kwannon seen here is the All Looking One who turns her head in all directions in order to see those who need her help. Kwannon in Japan is generally represented as feminine, although in reality sexless, but as compassion is so often associated with women, the Japanese love to picture her as a beautiful, stately, and graceful woman.

The Kwannon temple is reached by a steep flight of steps. It is a simple straw-thatched building standing in a quiet spot amidst the trees, but it shelters a number of fine pieces of statuary, some of them being National Treasures. One is the large gilt statue of the altar carved by Unkei, another also of the Eleven-faced deity is from the hand of the well-known priest Jikaku who died 867 c. E.

¹ Rev. Shaku Soyen—*Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot*.

There is a story that Jikaku found a piece of wood floating in the sea which gave out a bright light. He used this wood to carve his Kwannon out of and it is said that the statue always emitted a soft luminous aura. Another story tells that when the temple was once burned the statue left the altar and took refuge under a great cryptomeria tree.

Another statue of the Kwannon and also a National Treasure is the one carved by the priest Eshin by the command of Emperor Kwazan. The third statue is the most ancient and was chiseled by the famous priest Gyōgi of Ryōbu Shinto fame.

This little temple therefore is truly a sanctuary of Kwannon. Almost deserted now except for the care-taker the effigies of the Bodhisattva stand in peace. Once a year in August the festival takes place, when the country people crowd up the steep steps to the sacred place to give reverence and homage to that most popular of all the holy ones—Kwanzeon Bosatsu.

Gokurakuji is another ancient Shingon temple in Kamakura—the temple of Paradise, but it is practically ruined now since the great earthquake of 1923, only one little building remaining of its former importance and beauty. It was founded by Hōjō Shigetoki whose tomb is at the back of the temple grounds, (he died in 1527 C.E.), and it was made fine and splendid by his two sons in memory of their father.

Gokurakuji is noted for its first Abbot Ryōkwan Ninsho Rishi who was a true Bodhisattva. Here, he built a hospital for lepers and engaged in all kinds of charitable work for the sick and poor and also constructed shelters for animals, and had a special hospital for sick horses. He was noted for his effective prayers for rain. In Shingon Buddhism there is a special ritual or service for causing rain to fall and cease, and according to historical accounts Ryōkwan was most successful in these prayers and was held in great veneration and esteem on account of them.

A story is told that at one time when Ryōkwan was praying, a snake appeared in front of him and remained quiet evidently listening to the prayers. Soon after rain began to fall.

Besides caring for the poor and sick and alleviating distress, Ryōkwan erected temples, bridges, roads, dug wells, built bath houses. He established sixty-three places where no killing was allowed and it is said that in twenty years, he helped 57,250 persons. He seems to have been an incarnation of Avalokitesvara (Kwanzeon Bosatsu).

Gokurakuji was destroyed twice by fire and after a severe earthquake in 1433, it gradually declined until now almost nothing is left. But there is an old map which can still be seen showing how in its early days of religious prosperity it was also a ministering angel to the sick and the poor, for the map shows that there was provision on the ground for buildings devoted to sick patients, lepers, animals, and stables for horses. The last great earthquake of 1923 laid its destroying fingers on the little that was left of Gokurakuji so that now only a few statues are to be seen on the altar of the small building. There is an ancient statue of Fudo said to have been brought from China by Kōbō Daishi in 807 C.E. There are two fine statues of Shakamuni and one also of Ryōkwan called popularly Iwō Nyorai (the Buddha of Healing), because he helped people so much. His tomb near that of Hōjō Shigetoki is in the rear of the grounds and marked by an enormous Gorinto monument.

The Gorinto is a stone monument composed of five parts representing the five elements: the cube symbolising the earth; the ball water; the pyramid fire; the crescent air; and the jewel ether. These monuments inscribed with sacred Sanskrit characters are often used as tombstones.

It is claimed for this Gorinto that it is the largest in Eastern Japan. It is a fitting monument for the saintly and charitable Ryōkwan, the first Abbot of Gokurakuji.

Even if his beloved temple entirely disappears as it now seems fated to do, his benevolent deeds will ever be recorded in the annals of Japanese history.

Kakuonji is another ancient Shingon temple, now only a shadow of its former self. It was founded by Hōjō Sadatoki on the site of an older edifice. The present building is one of the oldest in Kamakura having been carefully repaired during the centuries succeeding its erection.

Kakuonji sets in a quiet, almost deserted valley surrounded by hills. The main building is spacious. The Buddha upon the altar is that of the healing Yakushi said to be carved by Takuma. Yakushi (Sanskrit, Bhaishajyaguru) is the Buddha of Healing. His healing powers are used not only for physical but also for mental ills. He is represented either standing or seated—generally the latter, and holding in his hands a jewel-like vase. He is often spoken of as the God of Medicine, but this is not quite correct. Yakushi is often revered for his answer to prayers for healing from disease, but like the other great Buddhas he is thought to be one who heals the mind, assists meditation, and leads the aspirant to spiritual enlightenment. On each side of Yakushi stand the Bodhisattvas representing the sun and the moon, Nikko and Gwakko Bosatsus. All three of these statues are large and majestic, yet of exceeding grace, and remarkable for the fine open-work mandorlo of the tapering oval form called *funa-goko* or “boat shaped” by the Japanese. Below him sits a statue of the Buddha Amida, a creation of great beauty from the Ashikaga days by an unknown sculptor. Guarding the main Buddha are the statues of the twelve followers of Yakushi who assist him in succouring the sick and distressed.

In a small shrine near the main temple is the black Jizo, a statue carved in the Kamakura era and a National Treasure. This statue was very famous and supposed to work miracles, and the reason for calling it black is because in his many descents to Hell to rescue unhappy beings there,

the body of the compassionate Bodhisattva became blackened from the fire, in which he stood in the place of those who called upon him for aid. Like Kwanzeon, Jizo (Sanskrit, Kshitigarbha) is the Bodhisattva of compassion.

He is represented both standing and sitting and is distinguished from Shaka or Amida by his shaven head. In one hand he carries a staff which has six rings on the end symbolising the six Pāramitās; in the other hand he holds a jewel. Jizo is the friend of children, of pilgrims, of women, and indeed of all who need his pity. His face and attitude are marked by gentleness and generally a soft smile is on his lips.

Lafcadio Hearn writes:

"Little piles of stone are placed upon his pedestal. It is said that these little towers of stones are built by child ghosts for penance in the Sai-no-Kawara, which is the place to which all children after death must go. And the oni (demons) come to throw down the stone piles and to frighten and torment the children. But the little souls run to Jizo, who hides them in his great sleeves and comforts them. And every stone one lays upon the knees or at the feet of Jizo with a prayer from the heart helps some child soul to perform his long penance. . . . The real origin of this custom of piling up stones before the images of Jizo is not known to the people. The custom is founded upon a passage in the famous sutra, *The Lotus of the Good Law*: 'Even the little boys and girls who in playing erected here and there heaps of sand with the intention of dedicating them as stupas (dedicatory mounds or monuments) to the Buddhas, they have all of them reached enlightenment' The stones heaped about the statue are put there by the people for the sake of the little ones, most often by mothers of dead children."

Near the temple among the woods are other shrines, one to Fudo Myōo, one to Kōbō Daishi, one to the Thirteen Buddhas worshipped by Shingon believers and a series of

caves, eighty-eight in number, each containing an image of Kōbō Daishi is to be found on the way to the summit of the mountain behind Kakuonji, and at the top itself is a statue of the great Shingon saint. From here, there is a fine view of all the surrounding country. A visit to Kakuonji can be made a pleasurable excursion, combining as it does the delights of nature and of religion.

The Jōdō sect is also represented at Kamakura and Kōmyōji is the largest and finest of its temples. It was founded by Hōjō Tsunetoki, 1243 c. E., and is still well preserved, not having suffered from fire and earthquake as have other Kamakura temples. It was patronised by both Emperors and Shōguns and is still flourishing as a leading temple of the Jōdō sect in Eastern Japan. As we enter the gate we see on the right the Zendōzuka (the Hill of Zendo).

There is a fine Sammon (great gate) built in 1533, containing as is usual in all Sammon the Buddha Śākyamuni with Monju and Fugen, the Sixteen Rakans and the Four Heavenly Kings. The main temple large and finely constructed enshrines the first Abbot Ryōchin (Kishu Zenji), a pupil of Hōnen Shōnin's disciple Shōko. He was Abbot here for over forty years and his tomb is on the hill behind the temple. There is also a statue of Amida traditionally ascribed to Shōtoku Taishi and in the neighbouring Amida Hall, the Buddha upon the altar is from the hand of the famous sculptor, Unkei, a bone of whose very hand is preserved as a sacred relic.

This temple of Kōmyōji was specially supported by the Naito family whose tombs are in a special burying ground within the temple compound. There is a charming garden, a splendid old bell, and in the Nisondo are statues of the Goddess Benzaiten and of the Chinese sage Zendo, one of the patriarchs of the Jōdō sect.

The image of Zendo, legend says, was miraculously borne on the sea from its shrine in Kyūshū to Kamakura

and that it landed by itself. The people devoutly installed it in the Kōmyōji garden. As to the statue of Benten, the story goes that the statue of the goddess was found floating near Kōmyōji and returned to her original home on Enoshima. But when this had happened many times the people came to believe that she wished to remain at Kōmyōji, so her statue was enshrined here beside that of Zendo.

Kōmyōji is noted for its picture rolls of the Taema mandala illustrating the story of the Princess Chūjo-Hime who wove a picture of paradise with the help of Amida and Kwannon. These picture rolls are of great beauty and justly admired. They are said to be painted by the Tosa artist Sumiyoshi Keion (13th century).

On the 13th of October the annual festival Jūya is held, "Ten Nights of Prayer" which in these modern days have become three. The custom originated in the days of Emperor Gotsuchimikado under the Abbot Yushu Shōnin, later well known as Jikaku Daishi. Even now the celebration of three days is held with great earnestness and enthusiasm. Crowds come to attend the services which consist of sutra-reciting and sermons. Many priests take part clad in their robes of beautiful colours to minister to the worshipping people. The candles gleam, the incense rises, and the murmurs of Namu-Amida-Butsu echo through the building. When one attends such a service as this, it is not easy to believe that Buddhism, as some would have us think, is dead or even dying, but very much alive and very vital and moving.

Kōmyōji stands by the sea with wooded hills at its back. It is a worthy edifice to shelter the representation of the Buddha Amitābha and to house the statue of its first Lord Abbot whose saintly life is still remembered by the devotees of Kōmyōji.

There is one temple left for us to visit and that is Kōsokuji, the temple of the Cheek-branded Amida, belonging to the Ji sect, founded by Ippen Shōnin. Ji is also an Amida sect and lays stress, as do Jōdō and Shin, upon the

repetition of the Nembutsu. But his followers formed a separate school and its headquarters are at the temple of Yūgyōdera in the town of Fujisawa very near Kamakura. The priests of Yūgyōdera are noted for their power of healing the sick and for their custom of travelling about the country, healing, praying, and comforting. Yūgyōdera means "Temple of the Wanderer" and the abbot of this temple does not remain at home, but is ever itinerant just as was the founder of the sect, Ippen Shōnin.

The Amida statue said to be carved by Unkei is of wood, gilded, and is three feet two inches high. His face is serene and kind, a gentle smile upon his lips. His left hand stretched down shows that he wishes to relieve all beings who come to him, and his right hand held up shows that he is blessing them while the circle made with thumb and forefinger is a sign that he will come for them at the hour of death. On each side of him stands Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Kwannon and Seishi).

There is an interesting story connected with this statue. According to tradition the statue of Amida was carved by Unkei at the request of Machi-no-tsubone, a court lady. In the household was a priest named Manzai and he was accused of theft and other bad actions to such an extent that in Machi-no-tsubone's absence the priest was taken by the enraged neighbourhood and branded on the cheek with a hot iron. Just as the brand was applied Manzai cried, "Buddha, help me." It was noticed that after the brand was applied no marks were left upon the priest's face which was smooth and unhurt as before. Again the brand was applied but with the same result. That night Machi-no-tsubone had a dream in which the statue of Amida came to her and said, "Why did you brand my face?" and he pressed his hand to his left cheek as if in pain. She was astonished, at once returned to Kamakura, and on inspecting the statue found to her horror that on the left cheek of the statue was a deep brand. She was startled and contrite, felt that the priest

had been falsely accused and called in a sculptor to repair the statue. In vain! Although many attempts were made and the face of the statue regilded, the mark of the brand re-appeared. From that time on, the statue was called Hōyake or Cheek-branded Amida.

Machi-no-tsubone had it enshrined in a temple, became a nun and died as she was entering Samadhi before the statue of this Amida. Whether Manzai was an evil character or not is not clear, but the compassion of Amida is said to be directed not only towards the good but towards the evil. In any case, Manzai devoted the rest of his life to good works, a living witness to prove that those who call upon Amida with a believing heart will not do so in vain.

We have now spoken of all the well-known Buddhist temples in Kamakura, but there are many others, smaller or less important or new ones which we have not time to visit. Besides the Buddhist temples there are many Shinto shrines of interest such as Hachiman whose history is closely connected with Buddhism and the Kamakura-no-Miya which is dedicated to the spirit of Prince Morinaga, the son of Emperor Godaigo, who met a tragic death here. There are also shrines to the Goddess Benten (strictly speaking, the Bodhi-sattva Benzaiten) and to the God of the rice Inari whose messenger is the fox, as Benten's is the serpent. There are the tombs of famous men such as the Shōgun Yoritomo and the poet Tamesuke. There are in the vicinity of Kamakura many temples, shrines, caves, and monuments all having religious or historic interest. Besides, at Kamakura nature is most lavish and beautiful and most of these shrines and temples are set in most charming wooded surroundings, many of them with fine views of the sea.

The little fishing village became the great capital of the Shōgun. In these days it is neither of these but a modern town possessing a comfortable western-style hotel, inns, shops, sanitariums, and a beach which is famous throughout Japan. It is now both a summer and a winter resort,

a residential town, a fishing village and a centre of religion all in one. And near Kamakura is the fairy island of Enoshima sometimes called the City of Mother of Pearl, one of the most picturesque anywhere in the world and sacred to the lovely Goddess Benten who is said to have married the fierce dragon king thus putting an end to trouble. Now she smiles upon the fair region of Kamakura with its interesting historic remains, and its strongholds of religion, the Buddhist temples.

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI

THE GĀTHĀS OF THE DAŚABHŪMIKA-SŪTRA

(concluded)

Edited by JOHANNES RAHDER and SHINRYU SUSA

VI. Sixth Bhūmi, Initial Gāthā.

¹carapa-vara śrūpitvā bhūmi-śreṣṭham vidūnām²
 gagani sugata-putrā harṣitāḥ puṣpa-varṣi |
 maṇi-ratana-udārā abha-yuktā viśuddha
 abhikira sugatasya sādhu iti vyāharantaḥ || 1 ||
 maruta-śata-sahasrā harṣitā³ antarikṣe
 diviya⁴-rucira-citrā ratna-cūrṇā⁵ udārāḥ |
 abhikira⁶ sugatebhyo⁷ gandha-mālyānulepān
 chatra⁸-dhvaja-patakā-hāra-candrārḍha-hārān || 2 ||
 maru-pati-vaśavartī sarva-deva-gaṇeṇa
 upari khaga-pathitvā⁹ megha-ratna-mayāni
 abhikirīṣu prasannaḥ pūjanārtham jinasya
 sādhu sugata-putrā vyāharī hr̥ṣṭa-cittāḥ || 3 ||
 amara-vadhu¹⁰-sahasrāṇy antarikṣe sthitāni
 gīta-ruta-manojñā¹¹ vādyā-saṃgīti-yuktā¹² |
 sarva-ruta-svarebhyo eva śabdā ravante
 jina-kṛtu¹³ sumanojñaiḥ kleśa-tāpasya hantā¹⁴ || 4 ||
 śūnya prakṛti-śāntā sarva-dharmānimittāḥ
 khaga-patha-sama-tulyā nirvikalpā viśuddhāḥ |

¹ Metre: Mālinī (na, na, ma, ya, ya).² vidūnām R. T.³ varṣitā K. T. dgaḥ-shin Tib.⁴ divya R. K. T.⁵ cūrṇā R. K. vutṛā T. cūrṇa Tib.⁶ abhikiri R. K. °ra T.⁷ sugatebhyāḥ R. T. sugatasya K.⁸ chatra R. K. T.⁹ pathāto R. °tā T. ḥkhoṇ-ciñ Tib.¹⁰ vadhu R. K. T.¹¹ °jñām R. K. T.¹² yuktān R. K. yuktām T.¹³ kṛtvā T. ¹⁴ hantā T.

gati-sthiti-vinivṛttā niṣprapañcā aśeṣā
 tathata-sama tathatvād dharmatā nirvikalpā || 5 ||
 yaiḥ punar anubuddhāḥ¹ sarva-dharmeva teṣāṃ
 bhavi tatha abhave iñjanā nāsti kācit |
 kṛpa-karuṇa jage ca mocanārthaṃ prayuktā²
 te hi³ sugata-putrā jaurasā⁴ dharma-jātāḥ || 6 ||
 dāna-cari carante sarva hitvā nimittaṃ
 śīla-sudhṛta-cittā adi-śāntā praśāntāḥ |
 jagati kṛta kṣamante akṣayā dharma-jñāni
 viriya-bala-upetāḥ sarva-dharmā-viviktā⁵ || 7 ||
 dhyāna-naya-praviṣṭā jīrṇa⁶-kleṣā viśuddhāḥ
 sarva-vidita-vastū adi-śūnyādhimuktāḥ |
 jñāna-kriya-balaḍḍhya⁷ nitya-yuktā jagārthaṃ
 te hi⁸ sugata-putrāḥ śānta-pāpā mahātmāḥ || 8 ||
⁹Idṛśā ruta-sahasra bhaṇitvā
 khe sthitāḥ sumadhurā sura-kanyāḥ |
 tūṣṇī¹⁰-bhūta jinam ikṣi prasannā¹¹
 dharma-gaurava-ratā maru-kanyāḥ || 9 ||
¹²vimukticandra abravīd vajragarbhaṃ viśāradam |
 kidṛśākāra-niṣpattiḥ pañcamāyām¹³ anantaram || 10 ||

VI. Final Gāthā.

¹⁴paripūrṇa-mārga-caraṇā vidu pañcamāyāṃ
 dharmānimittata alakṣaṇatā¹⁵ ajātā |
 anutpāda ādi pariśuddhyati niṣprapañcā¹⁶
 bhāvetva¹⁷ jñāna-mati ṣaṣṭhi samākramanti || 11 ||

¹ anubaddhāḥ K. T. ² prayuktāḥ R. ³ tebhi R. tau ti K. T.
⁴ jinorasā R. ⁵ viviktā R. ⁶ jīrṇa K. T. ⁷ balebhyo
 R. āḍhya Tib. ⁸ tehi R. ⁹ Metre: Svāgatā, (ra, na, bha,
 ga, ga). Idṛśāḥ in all MSS. ¹⁰ tūṣṇī R. ¹¹ prasannāḥ R.
¹² Metre: śloka. ¹³ °yam R. K. T. ¹⁴ Metre: Vasantatilaka.
¹⁵ °to MSS. ¹⁶ °pañcān MSS. ¹⁷ bhāvatva K. bhāvetta T.
 °vena Tib.

dharmā vivikta apratigraha¹ nirvikalpā²
 māyā-svabhāva dvaya-bhāvatu³ viprayuktā⁴ |
 anulomayanta avilomanta dharmā-netrī
 jñānānvitāḥ pravara-śaṣṭhi⁵ samākramanti || 12 ||
 tikṣṇānuloma-sthita jñāna-balopapetaḥ
 samudāgamam vibhavaḥ prekṣiṣu sarva-loke |
 mohāndhakāra-prabhavaḥ jaga-sambhavātma
 tasyaiva moha-vigamena pravṛtti nāsti || 13 ||
 vicinanti pratyaya-kṛtīm paramārtha-śūnyam
 kriya-hetu-pratyaya-sama-jña kriyāvirodhau |
 yāthāvataḥ⁶ karakapeta-kriyam viditvā
 vicinanti saṃskṛta-ghanābhra-samam nirīham || 14 ||
 satyeṣu 'jñānu paramārthatu sā⁷ avidyā
 karmā⁸ ca cetana-balena vibhāga⁹-prāptam |
 cittam niśritya¹⁰ sahaḥ puna nāma-rūpam
 evam-mukhā¹¹ bhavati yāva duḥkhasya skandhaḥ || 15 ||
 te citta-mātra ti trai-dhātukam otaranti
 api cā bhavaṅga iti¹² dvādaśa ekacitte |
 saṃrāgu-jātu api¹³ cittu¹⁴ prabhāvitā tu¹⁵
 evam ca¹⁶ saṃbhava-kṣayam puna cittabhāgam¹⁷ || 16 ||
 kāryam avidyā dvaya¹⁸ kurvati moha-bhāve¹⁹
 mohebbhi²⁰ hetu vahate puna cetanāyāḥ |
 evam ca yāva jara dhvamsana skandha-bhedam
 anusarva-duḥkha-prabhavaḥ kṣayataḥ abhāvaḥ || 17 ||

¹ aviyūha R. abhipṛha T. len-med Tib. ² °kalpān R. ³ tu left out in R. ⁴ °yuktān R. ⁵ ṣaṣṭhi R. ⁶ yothā° K. yathā° T. ⁷ ttasyā (for "tu sā") K. ⁸ karma MSS.
⁹ "vibhāga" in the meaning of "vijñāna". avidyāprakṛtasya karmaṇo vipākaḥ saṃskārāḥ || in prose. ¹⁰ ca niśritya R. K. °śrama T. rten-te Tib. ¹¹ evaṃśusam K. °mukha sa R. T. ¹² ete (for iti) R. imi Tib. ¹³ api left out in MSS. ¹⁴ cintu in all MSS. but K. ¹⁵ tyayu added in R. ¹⁶ tatha R. Left out in MSS. evam ca Tib. ¹⁷ °bhāga-kāryam R. ¹⁸ avidyā dvaya (kriya) R. ¹⁹ °vam MSS. ²⁰ °ti R. °hi T.

ucchedu no¹ bhavati pratyayatām avidyā
 nocchedyatāpi kara²-prahāya saṃnirodham |
 moho teṣu³ ca upādānaṃ kleśa-vartma⁴
 karma bhavaṃ ca api cetana⁵ śeṣa duḥkhā || 18 ||
 moham tu āyatana saṃskṛta⁶-duḥkha teṣāṃ
 sparśaṃ ca vedana-sukhā duḥkhatāya duḥkhā |
 śeṣānam aṅgana parināma-duḥkha vṛddhir⁷
 vyuccheda⁸ tasya duḥkhata nā⁹ hi ātmam asti || 19 ||
 adhveṣu¹⁰ pūrva tamacetana saṃskṛtasya
 vijñāna-vedana vivartati pratyutpannam |
 aparāntu teṣu¹¹-prabhavo duḥkha-sambhaveyam
 āpekṣa¹² cchedu prasaraṃ ca nirikṣayantaḥ || 20 ||
 mohasya pratyayatu sambhavate vibandhā¹³
 vinibandhana-vyaya kṣaye sati pratyayānām |
 hetu¹⁴ ca mūla-prabhavaṃ na tu¹⁵ hetu-bhedaṃ
 vyuparikṣate¹⁶ ca jina¹⁷-jñāna svabhāva-śūnyam || 21 ||
 anuloma-moha-prabhavaṃ ca prabhāvataś ca
 pratiloma-hetu-kṣayato¹⁸ bhava-sarva-cchedyam |
 gambhīra-pratyayatam asya sato'sataś ca
 vyuparikṣate daśavidham aniketa-buddhiḥ || 22 ||
 saṃdhi-bhavaṅgatu¹⁹ tathāpi ca karma-sthānam
 avibhāgatas tri-vidhu-vartmani²⁰ pūrvataś ca |
 triya-hetu-duḥkha-vibhavā udaya-vyayaṃ ca
 abhāvato 'kṣayata²¹ pratyaya-anulomam²² || 23 ||

¹ nucchedano R. ² vocchedyate 'dhikara R. ³ moha
 trṣṇā T. teṣu is in Skt. trṣṇā. ⁴ 'tmā R. ⁵ saṃskārā (ins-
 tead of cetana) R. ⁶ saṃskāra R. ⁷ -vṛddhiḥ R. ⁸ vyū° R.
⁹ duḥkhata nā R. ¹⁰ āveṣu K. T. ltaś-yin Tib. ¹¹ teṣa
 (trṣṇā) T. ¹² āvedha MSS. ¹³ vivṛddhvā R. vivarto K.
 rvitartvā T. vibandha Tib. Chin. ¹⁴ hetuś R. K. hantu T.
¹⁵ satu R. T. ¹⁶ vyuparikṣa R. T. °rikṣa K. ¹⁷ hita R.
¹⁸ °tā K. °tām R. T. ¹⁹ yathā bhavāṅga tu R. andhībhavāṅgatu
 T. adhī° K. ²⁰ varttati K. T. ²¹ abhāvata akṣayata R.
 abhāvato akṣayata K. T. ²² anulomaṃ K. T.

evaṃ pratītya-samutpāda samotaranti
 māyopamaṃ vitatha veda-karmāpanītam¹ |
 svapnopamaṃ ca² tathatā-pratibhāsa³ caiva
 bālāna mohana marīci-sama-svabhāvam || 24 ||
 yā eva bhāvana sa śūnyata paṇḍitanāṃ
 ratī⁴ pratyayāna bhavate idam ānimittam |
 jānitva jātu-vitatham praṇidhānu nāsti
 anyatra sattva-kṛpayā upapadyayanti || 25 ||
 evaṃ vimokṣa-mukha⁵ bhāvayite mahātmā
 kṛpa-buddhi bhūya tatha⁶ buddha-gunābhilāṣī |
 saṃyoga-saṃskṛti-kṛta vyuparīkṣamāṇo
 niyatāśayo⁷ bhavati naikagūṇopapetaḥ || 26 ||
 pūrṇā sahasra-daśa śūnyataye samādhi
 tatha ānimitta-varadam ca vimokṣa tātī | 27⁸
 prahrādayanti jagad-aśaya⁹ candra-abhā
 vahaṃānu vāta-caturī asaṃhārya-prāptā |
 atikramya mārāpatham ābha jinaurasānām¹⁰
 praśamenti kleśāparitapa-duḥkharditanām || 29 ||
 iha bhūmi-deśupagatā marutādhipās te
 bhontī sunirmita-kṛtāv adhimāna-gatī |
 yaṃ caiva ārabhiṣu jñāna-pathopapeta
 asaṃhārya śrāvaka-gatī¹¹ atikrānta dhīrāḥ || 30 ||
 akāṅkṣamāṇu sugatātmaṃ vīrya-prāptāḥ
 koṭī-śata-sahasra-pūrṇa-samādhi-labdhaḥ |
 paśyanti eka-kṣaṇī buddha daśad¹²-diśāsu
 pratapanti sūrya iva madhyagu¹³ grīṣma-kāle || 31 ||
¹⁴gambhīrā durdrśā sūkṣma durjñeyā jina-śrāvakaiḥ |
 ṣaṣṭhi bhūmir mahātmānām akhyatā sugatātmaṃ || 32 ||

¹ vedakam āpanītam R. ² °mapā ca R. ³ °saś caiva K. T.

⁴ ratī R. T. caratī K. ⁵ mukhā R. ⁶ tathā R. ⁷ vigatam
bhayo K. T. ⁸ One stanza and two padas occurring here in the
Tib. and Chin. versions are missing in the Skt. MSS. ⁹ āśaya R.

¹⁰ jinorasānām R. ¹¹ gati K. T. ¹² buddha-śatad R. K. T.

daśa Tib. Chin. ¹³ °tu K. ¹⁴ Metre: Sloka.

Bhūmi VI

Prose	Gāthā 1—10	Prose	Gāthā
(P. 47) A	{ 11 12 a }	L	{ a b c d }
B	b 13		
(P. 48) C	{ c d }	M	{ a b c d }
D	14		22
(P. 49) E	15		23
F	{ a b c d }	(P. 52) N	24
G	16	O	25
(P. 50) H	17	(P. 53) P }	26
I	{ a b c d }	Q }	27
(P. 51) J	18	R }	28
K	19	S	29
			30
			31
			32

VII. Seventh Bhūmi, Initial Gāthā.

¹atha vividha-rucira-meghān marud-gaṇo'bhikiriṣu vega-
 prāptāḥ |
 pravyāharanti madhura² giri-vara-śubha-prīti³-sampūrṇāḥ⁴
 || 1 ||
 sādhu vara-tikṣṇa-cittā guṇa-śata-samupeta-jñāna-vaśavar-
 tim |
 vara-caraṇaṃ⁵ parituṣṭaṃ jaga-hita-vara-puṇḍarikāṇaṃ
 || 2 ||
 tada pravaram atulam ābhā maheśvarāḥ khe-gatā⁶ nara-
 varasya |

¹ Metre: Āryā.² prīti K. T. p(r)īti R.³ po Cl. ṇa K. R. ṇā T.⁴ rāṇ P1, P2, N, C2, K. T.⁵ sampūrṇāṃ P1,2, N, C2, K. T.⁶ khadaśagatā R. khedagatā K. T.

vara-rucira-gandha-meghān abhikiri¹ kleśaugham apahar-
tum || 3 ||

pravyāharanti madhuram marud-gaṇo harṣa-kara-rucira-
ghoṣāḥ |

parama-sulabdha-lābhāḥ śruto yair ayu² bhūmi-nirdeśaḥ
|| 4 ||

³tūrya-madhura-ghoṣa-yukta⁴ maru-kanyāḥ prīṇita-mano-
bhīḥ |

sucara⁵-sugatānubhāvād vara-carir iyam idrśi prokta || 5 ||
sumanī sucaraṇa-śreṣṭhaḥ sudānta damakāna loka-mahi-
tānām |

atikramya sarva-lokaṃ loka-carim darśayī⁶ sūkṣmām⁷ || 6 ||

⁸darśenti kāya-vividhān kāya-kāyāms⁹ ca⁹ dharmatopetāḥ¹⁰ |
śamathaḥ samiti-vibhakto bhaṇati ghoṣam na cākṣaram¹¹
ravati || 7 ||

kṣetra-śatam ākramante pūjenti nāyakān parama-pūjīyān |
ātma-janita-kṣetra-saṃjñā vidhunitvā jñāna-vaśavartī || 8 ||
paripācayanti sattvān na cātma-para-saṃjñā¹² sarvaśa
upenti |

śubha¹³ saṃcinanti pravaram na cāpi śubha-saṃcaya-
niketāḥ || 9 ||

rāga-raja-doṣa-mohaiḥ paśyitva¹⁴ sarva-loka¹⁵-jvalamānān |
varjjeti sarva¹⁶-saṃjñā vīryam varam ārabhi¹⁷ kṛpaya || 10 ||

¹⁸maru-kanyā deva-saṃghāś ca pūjenti vara-svaram |
tūṣṇīm-bhāva-ratāḥ sarve prekṣante puruṣa-rṣabham || 11 ||

¹ °riṣu R. ² śruto yair ayam R. śruta yair ayu K. śrutva yair ayu T. śruto yair ayu P1,2. ³ Stanza No. 5 Metre Upagiti.

⁴ °yuktā in all MSS. ⁵ suvaca K. T. tava ca Tib. Mong.

⁶ lokacari darśayī in all MSS. °carim darśayan R. ⁷ sūṣṭ R.

⁸ Stanza No. 7 Metre Gīti. ⁹ kāyākāyāms ca P1,2. C2. K.

kāyāms ca L. B. T. kāyakāyāms ca R. ¹⁰ dharmata upetāḥ K. T.

¹¹ ghoṣa na cākṣara N. ¹² °parasamjñām R. °samjñā MSS.

¹³ śubham R. śubha MSS. ¹⁴ paśyitvā in all MSS. ¹⁵ sar-

valoku T. ¹⁶ sarva left out in MSS. sarva samjñā Tib. Chin.

¹⁷ vīryavarārambhi R. vīryavaramārabhi K.T.P1,2. ¹⁸ Metre: Śloka.

¹pariṣad viprasanneyam avocat sugatātma-jam |
saptamya bhūmer ākārān² nirdiśasva guṇākara || 12 ||

VII. Final Gāthā.

³gambhīra-jñāna-paramārtha-padānusārī
ṣaḍ-bhūmi-niścita-matiḥ⁴ susamāhitātmā |
prajñām upāya yugapady abhinirharanto⁵
bhūmyākramanti vidu saptami-carya-śreṣṭhām⁶ || 13 ||
śūnyā-nimitta-praṇidhī kṛpa-maitra-yuktā⁷
buddhānudharma-sugatānuga-pūjayantaḥ |
jñānena śubha-maha-punya-balebhy atṛptāḥ⁸
tām ākramanti vidu saptami-bhūmi-deśam || 14 ||
trai-dhātukena adhivāsa⁹-vivekaprāptāḥ
śāntaś ca kleśa-bala¹⁰-śānti-jagābhikaṅkṣī |
pratibhāsa¹¹-māya-supinādvaya-dharma-cārī
kṛpa¹² darśayanti vidu saptamim ākramanti || 15 ||
śodhenti kṣetra-kha-samāśaya-nirvikalpā¹³
jina-lakṣaṇair upagato'cala-dharmatāyām |
abhilāpya-ghoṣa-vigatā¹⁴ jaga-toṣaṇartham
kṣaṇa-jñāna-cittasya jināna¹⁵ samosaranti || 16 ||
abhāsa-prāpta imi¹⁶ dharma vicārayanti
ākṛāntā¹⁷ bhūmi-pravarāṃ jagad-artha-kārāḥ¹⁸ |

¹ "vimukticandra abravīt" is added in Tib. and Chin. versions.

² saptamyaṃ bhūmim ākārān MSS. °rā K. ³ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

⁴ mati K. T. ⁵ yugapady abhinirharan R. ⁶ °kramanti vidusaptamīca yaśreṣṭhām R.

⁷ śūnyānimittāp.ṇidhikṛpāmaitrayuktāḥ R. ⁸ śes-pas śes-byas bsod-nams-stobs-kyis minoms-pas | Tib.

⁹ mahādhivāsa R. mahādhivāsa K. mahādhivāsa T.

¹⁰ kleśajala T. kleśajana K. fion-moṃs stobs-rnams Tib. ¹¹ māya-svapna° R. māyasūppina° K. mā-yasupina° T.

¹² kṛpām R. kṛpa K. T. ¹³ śodhyanti...kalpāḥ R. śodhenti...kalpā K. T.

¹⁴ °to R. ¹⁵ °cittajinān R. °citta jināna K. T. skad cig sems-kyi rgyal-bas-kun mkhyen yañ-dag-gshol Tib.

¹⁶ iti R. T. imi K. Tib. Chin. ¹⁷ ākrāntā R. ¹⁸ kāmāḥ T. Tib.

te atra bhūmyasthita sattva-carī anantān¹
 vicinanti karma² sugatān niyutāpramāṇān || 17 ||
 kṣetrāṃś ca naika-vidha-dharmatha-kalpa-saṃkhyān³
 adhimukti-āśaya ca citta-vicitra-dhārān⁴ |
 triyāṇa-deśanam ananta samosaranti⁵
 asmābhi sattva⁶-paripācayitavyam etat || 18 ||
 ye te⁷ jñāna-nicitā vara-mārga-prāptā
 iryāpathaiś caturbhi⁸ prajñam upāya-yuktāḥ |
 sarvasmi cittakṣaṇi⁹ bodhi¹⁰-guṇānuprāptāḥ
 paripūrayanti daśa-pāramitā-pradeśān || 19 ||
 sarveṣu mārga-kuśalasya ya eṣa dānam¹¹
 śīlam ca kleśa-praśamaṃ¹² kṣama akṣatitvam¹³ |
 vīryam ca bhūyu anu-uttari ārabhante¹⁴
 mārge acalyataya¹⁵ dhyāna guṇānvitānām || 20 ||
 anutpāda-kṣānti-virajā vara-prajñā-śreṣṭhā
 paṇām'-upāya praṇidhī bhūyu kāṅkṣi-lakṣmī¹⁶ |
 ato'mardiyatva-bala jñāna nītirāṇatvād

¹ so'tra bhūmyavasthito'nantasatvacārī R. °sattvacārī anantān MSS.

² kalpa MSS. karma Tib. Chin.

³ °dharmakalpasamkhyām R.

°dharmathakalpasamkhyān K. T. C2. N.

⁴ adhimukty-āśaya

(śraddhā) cittavicitradhārāṃ (yāvad) | R. adhimukti āśaya vicintatha-
 citradhārān C2. N. °cittatthacitradhānān K. T.

⁵ (triyāṇa)

deśanam anantaṃ samosaranti R. śraddhayāvata deśanam ananta sa°
 C2. N. śraddhayācatade° K. eṣayāvatade° T.

⁶ asmābhiḥ sādhu R.

bdag-gis sems-can de-dag Tib. ⁷ One syllable is missing in all
 MSS. de-dag de-ltar (te eva) Tib.

⁸ caturbhiḥ R.

⁹ sarvas-
 miṃś cittakṣaṇe R. sarvasmi cittakṣaṇi K.L. °citu° T.

¹⁰ 'dhiguṇa°

R. te'dhiguṇa° L. mādhiḡuṇa° K. taḡuṇa° T. bodhiḡuṇa Tib. Chin.

¹¹ ya eṣo dānam R. cittotpānam sattveṣu parīṇāmanam etad dānam
 | Tib. Mong. Chin.

¹² °praśamaḥ in all MSS.

¹³ kṣamo'
 kṣatitvam R. ¹⁴ bhūyo'nuttarārabhate R. bhūya anuttari ārabhante
 MSS. bhūyu anu-uttari° K. T.

¹⁵ mārge'acalyatayā R. mārga

acalyataya K. T. ¹⁶ (an)utpāda....varā prajñā śreṣṭhānāmam
 tūpāyaḥ praṇidhiḥ bhūyaskāṅkṣi | R. °varaprajñāśreṣṭhā nāmam tūpāya

praṇidhiḥ bhūyu kāmtilakṣmī | P1. °nāmam tūpāya praṇidhiḥ bhūyu
 kāmḡkṣi | K. °māmantūpāya praṇidhiḥ bhūyu kāmtilakṣmī | T.

evaṃ khu bodhi-guṇa sarva-kṣaṇe 'nupenti¹ || 21 ||
 ālambanāt tu prathamā guṇa-pāripūri²
 dvitīyā malāpanaya ūrdhva³ vibandha-cchedam |
 caturthāya mārgu⁴ samatā-kriya pañcamāya⁵
 anutpāda-āhvaya viduḥ puna śaṣṭha-vṛttiḥ⁶ || 22 ||
 iha saptamīm upagataḥ sakalam guṇāni⁷
 praṇidhāna-naika-vividhān abhinirharanti |
 kiṃ kāraṇaṃ yaduta⁸ jñāna-kriyābhyupenti
 sā aṣṭamī⁹ prabhṛti sarva-viśuddhy-upenti || 23 ||
 duratikramā dūraṃgamā¹⁰ bahu-sthāna-karmā
 kṣetrāntara-dvi-patham eva yathottaranti¹¹ |
 vicaranti saptasu¹² alipta-nṛpo¹³ yathaiva
 mārga-sthita na¹⁴ puna sarvatikrānta-dhīrāḥ || 24 ||
 yada aṣṭamīm¹⁵ upagataḥ puna jñāna-bhūmim
 atikrānta citta-viśaye sthita jñāna-karme |
 brahmā na pekṣati jagan nara-mānuṣātmā
 evaṃ caranti vidu padmam ivā aliptāḥ¹⁶ || 25 ||
 atra sthita vividha-kleśam atikramanti
 teṣāṃ na kleśa-cari no ca kṣayo'nuprāptiḥ¹⁷ |
 mārga¹⁸-sthita na tada kleśa-carim caranti
 sampūrṇa-āśaya-jina-jña¹⁹ kṣayo²⁰ na tāvat || 26 ||
 ye laukikā vividha-śilpa-kriyā-prayoga²¹

¹ 'kṣaṇān upenti R. 'kṣayedvipeti K. 'kṣaṇe nupanti T.

² 'pārapūriḥ R. 'pārapūri K. 'pāripūriḥ T. ³ 'panayaḥ trītiya-
dhva R. ⁴ caturthi mārgaḥ R. caturthāya mārga MSS. ⁵ kriyā
pañcamī R.

⁶ (an)utpādāhvayaviduḥ punaḥ śaṣṭhavṛttiḥ R.
anutpādābhayā vidu śaṣṭhi vivṛddhiḥ Tib. Mong. ⁷ guṇān R.
guṇāni K. T. ⁸ yaduta K. T. ⁹ sāṣṭamī R. sā aṣṭamā K. T.

¹⁰ dūragatā T. ¹¹ kṣetrāna dviyatha vodhyoddharatiḥ K. C2. N.
¹² saptamasu in all MSS. ¹³ alipto nṛpo R. aliptanṛpā K. T.

¹⁴ punaḥ sarvā° R. puna sarva° K. T. ¹⁵ yadaṣṭa° R. T. yada
aṣṭa° K. ¹⁶ 'mivāliptāḥ R. 'mivā aliptāḥ K. T. ¹⁷ teṣāṃ
na kleśācaritācākṣuṣo'nuprāptiḥ R. teṣāṃ na kleśācari no (nā K) ca

kṣuṣā nuprāptiḥ K. T. ¹⁸ mārga K. Tib. ¹⁹ 'jinaññāna R.
K. T. ²⁰ kṣayaṃ K. T. ²¹ prayogaḥ R.

ajāti-sarva-vidunā sthita¹ śāstra-jñāne |
 dhyānā-abhijñā-bala²-bhāvayanto'bhyupenti
 bhūyaḥ samādhi-vividhān abhinirharanti || 27 ||
 atikrānta śrāvaka-carim tatha³ pratyayānām
 sthita bodhisattva-carāṇe vidu apramāṇam⁴ |
 pūrve hi āśayatayā iha jñānatayā⁵
 nrpati-suto yatha⁶ vivṛddha-balopapetaḥ⁷ || 28 ||
 gambhīryatām upagatā bhuyu⁸ ārabhanti
 cittam nirodh'-upagatā⁹ na ca sāksikriyāḥ¹⁰ |
 yathā sāgare upagatāḥ sthita-yāna-pātre
 pratyakṣa-sarva-udake¹¹ na ca yāna-hāniḥ || 29 ||
 bhūyo¹² upāya-bala-prajñā-varābhyupeta¹³
 durjñeya-sarva-jaga¹⁴-jñāna-kriyā-guṇādhyāḥ¹⁵ |
 pūjenti buddha-niyutā bhuyu śuddhi-bhāvā¹⁶
 yathā tad-vibhūṣaṇa-vicitritu naika¹⁷-ratnaiḥ || 30 ||
 atra sthitāna¹⁸ vidunām vara-prajñā-ābhā¹⁹
 śoṣenti²⁰ tṛṣṇā²¹-salilam yathā²² bhāskarābhāḥ |
 te atra²³ bhūmy-upagatā vaśavartinaś ca
 bhonti²⁴ kṛtī kuśala-jñāna-phalopadeśaiḥ || 31 ||
 akāṅkṣamāṇa-drḍha-vīrya-balābhyupetaḥ
 koṭi-nayuta²⁵-śata-buddha-sahasra-pūrṇan |
 paśyanti sarva-diśatāsu samāhitatvād²⁶

¹ vidurāḥ sthitāḥ R.² dhyānābhijñābalaṃ R.³ atikrāntaḥ...tathā R.⁴ sthitam...carāṇavidvapramāṇam R.⁵ pūrve hy āśayeneha punar jñānatayā R. sarve hi āśayam iha puna jñānatayā MSS. snon-chad bsam-pas yin-gyis ḥdi-la ye-śes-kyis | Tib.⁶ nrpatīsuto yathā R.⁷ balopetaḥ R.⁸ bhūya R. tuyu K.⁹ cittanīrodhagatā R. cittam nirodhapagatā T. °nīrodhugatā K.¹⁰ kriyāyām R. kriyā K. T.¹¹ sarvodake R.¹² bhūya R.¹³ upetaḥ R.¹⁴ sarvajagi (ge) K. T. Tib.¹⁵ guṇādyāḥ R.¹⁶ guṇādyā K. T.¹⁷ niyutam bhūyaḥ śuddhibhāvam R.¹⁸ niyatā° T.¹⁹ vibhūṣaṇam vicitritam aneka R.²⁰ tānām R.²¹ prajñābhā R.²² śoṣayati R. śoṣanti Cl. Pl. K. T.²³ tṛṣṇā R.²⁴ yathā R.²⁵ te'tra R.²⁶ bhoti R. bhoṣanti T.²⁷ niyuta K. nayuta T.²⁸ tvāt R. K.

bhūyo'py atah¹ prañidhi-śreṣṭha-guṇāprameyāḥ || 32 ||
²durjñeyā sarva-lokena vaśi-prātyeka-cāribhiḥ |
 ity eṣā saptamī bhūmir upāya-prajñā³-śodhanā || 33 ||

Bhūmi VII

Prose	Gāthā 1—12	Prose	Gāthā
	{ 13 14 15 16 }	(P. 59) G	{ a b c d }
(P. 55) A		H	
	{ a b c d }	(P. 60) I	{ a b c d }
(P. 56) B		J	
	{ a b c d }	(P. 61) K	{ a b c d }
C		L	
	{ a b c d }	M	{ a b c d }
D			
	{ 20 21 22 }	(P. 62) N	{ 31 32 33 }
(P. 57) E			
	{ a b c d }		
(P. 58) F			
	{ 24 25 26 }		

VIII. Eighth Bhūmi, Initial Gāthā.

⁴eva śrutva⁵ caraṇaṃ viduna⁶ śreṣṭhaṃ
 deva-saṃgha mudita maru-patiś⁷ ca |
 bodhisattva bahavo jagad-dhitaṣi⁸
 pūjayanti sugataṃ jina-sutāṃs ca || 1 ||

¹ 'taḥ R. atah K. pyataḥ T. ² Metre: Śloka. ³ °prajñā
 R. °prajñā K. T. ⁴ Metre: ra, na, bha, ya. (candravartma ?)
⁵ evaṃ śrutitva R. K. T. ⁶ vidūna R. ⁷ marūpattiś R.
 marupattiś K. manutpattiś T. ⁸ °ṣi K. T.

puṣpa-mālya rucirā dhvaja-patākā
 gandha-cūrṇa rucirā ratana-vastrā |
 chatra-naika-rucirān¹ maṇi-pratyupātān
 hāra-megha-pravarān abhisrjanti || 2 ||
 manojñā² ghoṣa-madhuram³ sura-vadnā
 mukta⁴ naika-turiya pravara-nātān⁵ |
 pūjanārthi jina-putra⁶ sugatāmś ca
 varṇa-śreṣṭha munino udāharanti || 3 ||
 sarvi-darśi⁷ vṛṣabhī dvipāda⁸-śreṣṭho
 darśi buddha-viṣayam jagad-dhitārtham |
 śabda-megha-rucirān pratāḍamanās
 tūrya-tāḍa-vividhās tada pramuktāḥ⁹ || 4 ||
 vāla-koṭi sugatāḥ śata-sahasrā¹⁰
 gaṅga-koṭi-nayutā raja¹¹-viśiṣṭāḥ |
 kṣemam apratisamāḥ pravara-śreṣṭham
 deśayanti vṛṣabhī viraja-dharmam || 5 ||¹²
 (sgra-yi rtse-mo de-la ḥgro-rgyud drug-po |)
 preta-tiryā-narakā-manuja-devāḥ¹³ |
 yakṣa-rakṣa¹⁴-bhujagā-asura-saṃghā¹⁵
 nāna¹⁶-karma-viṣaye¹⁷ samanubhonti || 7 ||
 sarva-kṣetra-viṣaye dhuta-rajānām¹⁸
 cakra śreṣṭha-pravarām tada nirvṛttam |
 deśayanti madhuram sugatā¹⁹ ghoṣam
 saṃjñā-citta jagatas tatha vicāran²⁰ || 8 ||

¹ cehatra naika rucirā R.² manojñā K. T.³ madhura R.⁴ yukta Tib.⁵ nātām R. tātām K. T.⁶ jinaputra left

out in K. T.

⁷ darśi T.⁸ pravara T.⁹ prayuktāḥ

K. T. ḥbyun Tib.

¹⁰ śaḥ R.¹¹ nayu-vālaka R. nayatā

raha K. T. rdul (raja) Tib.

¹² Five padas occurring here in the

Chin., Tib. and Mong. versions are missing in the Sanskrit MSS.

¹³ devā R. K. T.¹⁴ rākṣasa K. T.¹⁵ saṃghāḥ R. K.¹⁶ nānā K. T.¹⁷ viṣaya R. K. T. yul-la Tib.¹⁸ nām R.¹⁹ sugatā R.²⁰ satvasaṃjñā-citta jagavicārā (m) R. saṃjñācittajaga (jagajaga K) vicārām (rā K.) K. T. ḥgro-bhi ḥdu-śes seems dan
de-bshin spyod-pa | Tib.

sattva-kāyi sugatā vividha-kṣetrā
 kṣetri¹ sattva pravaraḥ² puna vipakāḥ |
 deva-mānuṣa-gatī tatha vicitrā
 jñātva sarva³ sugato⁴ bhaṇati⁵ dharmam || 9 ||
 sūkṣma-samjñā bhavati vipula-kṣetre
 vipula-samjñā bhavati raja-nimitte⁶ |
 evam-ādi-vividhām sugata-ṛddhiṃ
 sarva-loka bhaṇato na kṣapayeyuḥ⁷ || 10 ||
⁸īdṛśaṃ vaca mātmyam vacitvā madhura⁹-svaram |
 praśāntā pariṣat prītā prekṣate¹⁰ vadanām¹¹ varam || 11 ||
 praśānta-parśadam jñātva mokṣacandro¹² bravīt punaḥ |
 aṣṭamya¹³-bhūmi-ākārām praveśam ca nidarśaya || 12 ||

VIII. Final Gāthā.

¹⁴te bhūmya saptasū viśodhita-prajñ'-upāyā
 mārgā susambhṛta mahāpranidhāna-baddhaḥ¹⁵ |
 supratīṣṭhitā naravarāḥ kuśalopapeta¹⁶
 jñānābhilāṣi vidu aṣṭamim akramanti || 13 ||
 te puṇya-jñān'-upagatāḥ kṛpa-maitra-yukta¹⁷
 jñānapramāṇa-patha-gāḥ¹⁸ khaga-buddhi-kalpāḥ |
 śruta-dharma-niścita-balopagatā maharṣi
 kṣāntiṃ labhanti anutpāda-praśānti-sūkṣmām || 14 ||
 ādāv ajāta anutpāda alakṣaṇam ca
 asaṃbhūtataṃ avinaṣṭata cāpravṛttam |
 bhāva-svabhāva-vigatā¹⁹ tathatāvikalpā
 mana-citta-cāra-vigatāḥ khaga-tulya-kalpāḥ || 15 ||
 te²⁰ eva-kṣānti-samanvāgata niṣprapañcā

¹ kṣetra R. K. T. ² pravaraṃ R. °rā K. T. ³ satva R. T. ⁴ sugatu R. K. sugata T. ⁵ bhaṇi R. K. bhani T.
⁶ mittā R. K. T. ⁷ kṣaya (asya ?) R. kṣayapsā K. kṣeperyyā T.
⁸ Metre: Śloka. ⁹ madhuraṃ R. K. ¹⁰ pekṣate K.
¹¹ vadatām R. K. T. ¹² Metre: Vasantatilaka. ¹³ °baddha R. °tatra T. ¹⁴ °petāḥ R. K. ¹⁵ °yuktāḥ R. K. T. ¹⁶ °āg R. K. T. ¹⁷ bhāva-abhāva-vigatā R. ¹⁸ tatra K.

gambhīra'cāya-vidu-śānta-vicāra-prāptaḥ |
 durjñeya sarva-jagatāraha-pratyayaiś ca
 cittam nimitta-graha-samjñā vibhāvitatvāt || 16 ||
 evam sthitāna manu-citta-vikalpa nāsti
 bhikṣur¹ nirodh'-upagato 'papra²-kalpa-prāptaḥ |
 svapnoga-prāpta pratibuddha tathāvikalpā
 brahmā-pure rati-saṅga-rahito³ tathāiva || 17 ||
 pūrvādhiṣṭhāna sugatā puna codayanti
 eṣā⁴ sa kṣānti paramā sugatābhiṣeke |
 asmāku jñāna-vipulam vara⁵-buddha-dharmā
 te tubhya nāsti ta⁶ hi vīryu samārabhāyam⁷ || 18 ||
 kiṃ cāpi śānta tava sarva-kileśa-jvalā
 jvalitam niśāmya puna kleśa-gatibhya lokam |
 praṇidhāna-pūrva smara sattva-hitam vicārya⁸
 jñānārthi-prārthita-kriyā jaga-mokṣa-hetoḥ || 19 ||
 sada⁹ eṣa dharmata sthitā tathatāvikalpā
 sarveṣu buddha-jina-śrāvaka¹⁰-pratyayānam |
 na hi etinā daśa balāna prabhāvu loke
 nānyatra jñāna-vipula tribhi adhva'saṅgam¹¹ || 20 ||
 evam tam apratisamā nara-deva-pūjyā
 upasaṃharanti bahu-jñāna-mukhā vicārān |
 jina-dharma-niṣpatti-praveśam ananta-pāram
 yasyā kalā na bhavate puna bodhi-caryā¹² || 21 ||
 etāni prāpta vṛṣabhi vara-jñāna-bhūmim
 eka-kṣaṇena spharate diśatāḥ samantān¹³ |
 jñāna-praveś'-upagatā varabhijñā-prāptā¹⁴
 yatha sāgare vahanu māruta-yāna-prāptaḥ || 22 ||
 sabbhoga-citta-vigatāḥ sthita jñāna-karma¹⁵

¹ bhikṣu in all MSS. ² ca pra K. T. navu ('papra?') R.

³ cetisaṃgaraho K.

⁴ eṣāṃ T. eṣā(m) R.

⁵ bala T.

⁶ te K. T.

⁷ 'rabhasva? (in prose).

⁸ vicāryya R. vicāryam

K. T. ⁹ sad R.

¹⁰ śāvaka R.

¹¹ arthasaṃjñam K.

¹² caryyā R.

¹³ samantāṃ R. T.

¹⁴ prāptaḥ R. K. T.

¹⁵ jñānakarme K. Tib.

vicinanti kṣetra-prabhavaṃ vibhava-sthitiṃ ca |
 dhātuś catvāri vinibhāga-gatāna tāṃś ca¹
 sūkṣmaṃ mahad-gata vibhakti samosaranti || 23 ||
 trisahasri² sarva-paramāṇurajo taranti³
 catvāri dhātu jaga-kāyi vibhaktitaś ca |
 ratnā vibhakti paramāṇu suvargatīṣu⁴
 bhinditva⁵ jñāna-viśayena gaṇenty aśeṣam⁶ || 24 ||
 jñāne vibhāvita⁷-manā vidu sarva-kāyān⁸
 sve⁹ kāyi tatra upanenti jagāriha-hetoḥ |
 trisahasra sarva ca spharitva vicitra-rūpān
 darśenti kāya-vividhān tatha'nanta-loke || 25 ||
 sūryaṃ śāśiṃ ca vahi māruta antarīkṣe
 svaka-maṇḍalasya uḍake pratibhāsa prāptā |
 jñānottame sthita tathācala-dharmatāyāṃ
 jaga-śuddha-āśaya vidū pratibhāsa prāptā || 26 ||
 yatha¹⁰ āśayaṃ jagata kāya-vibhaktitāṃ ca
 darśenti sarva-pariṣe bhuvi sarva-loke¹¹ |
 vaśi-pratyayāśraya jinātmana śrāvakanām¹²
 darśenti te sugata-kāya vibhūṣitāṅgān || 27 ||
 sattvāṃś ca kṣetra tatha karma-vipāka-kāyān
 āryāśrayān vividha dharma-jñāna-kāyān |
 ākāśa-kāya-vṛṣabhī samatām upetaṃ¹³
 darśenti ṛddhi-vividhān jaga-toṣanārtham || 28 ||
 vaśita daśo vimala-jñāna-vicāra-prāptā¹⁴
 anuprāpta-jñāna-kṛta maitra-kṛpānukūlah |

¹ vinibhoga gatānataś ca K. T.

² trisāhasri K. T.

³ bhavanti T. ⁴ paramāṇusu ṣaḡ-gatīṣu R. paramāṇu sukha-gatīṣu K. paramāṇu sukhar-gatīṣu T. ⁵ bhinditva T.

⁶ jñāna-viśaye gaṇati aśeṣam R. jñāna-viśayena gaṇantyaśeṣam K.

⁷ vibhāgita° K. 'bhībhāṣita° T. ⁸ 'kāyāṃ R. ⁹ sva K. T.

¹⁰ tatha K. T. bshin-du Tib. ¹¹ mi dan lha-yi lkhor-rnams-

kun-tu ston-pa-byed | Tib. ¹² °jinātmanamārthayanti K. °jinātma-

jamārthayanti T. vaśi pratyaya-śrava-jinātmanam arthayanti ?

¹³ samatām ca ta K. samatānuyanti T. samatām upenti ?

¹⁴ (vi)cāra-prāptāḥ R.

yāvac ca sarva-jina-dharmam upāda karmā¹
tri-saṃvaraiḥ susthitam aika acalya-kalpāḥ || 29 ||
ye cā balā² jina-sutāna daśa³ akṣobhya
tehi upeta avibandhiya sarva-māraiḥ |
buddhair adhiṣṭhita namaskṛta śakra-brahmais
tatha vajra-pāṇi-balakaiḥ⁴ satatānubaddhāḥ || 30 ||
ima⁵-bhūmi-deś'-upagatā na guṇānam anto⁶
no śakyate kṣayitu kalpa-sahasra-koṭyaiḥ |
te bhūya buddha-niyutān samupāsavante
bhonto utapta yatha bhūṣaṇu rāja-mūrdhni || 31 ||
ima⁷-bhūmi-deś'-upagatā vidu bodhisattva
maḥa-brahma bhonti sahasrādhipati-guṇādhyāḥ⁸ |
traya-yāna-deśana akṣobhya'saṃhāra-prāptā
maitrāyanaḥ⁹ śubha-prabhā jaga-kleśa-ghāṭi || 32 ||
eka-kṣaṇena daśa-kṣetra-śataḥ-sahasrā
yāvā rajo-dhātu tattaka samādh'-upenti¹⁰ |
paśyanti tattaka daśa-diśi¹¹ sattva-sārān
bhūyo ataḥ prañidhi-śreṣṭha-vyūha-nekaḥ || 33 ||
¹²samkṣepa eṣa nirdiṣṭo¹³ aṣṭamāyā jinātma-jāḥ |
vistara kalpa-koṭībhīr na śakyaḥ sarva bhāṣitum || 34 ||

Bhūmi VIII

Prose	Gāthā 1-12	Prose	Gāthā
(P. 63) A	{ 13 14	G	20
B	15	(P. 66) H I	
(P. 64) C	{ 16 17	J	{ a) b) c) d)
(P. 65) D	18		21
E)	19	K	22
F)			

¹ karma R. karmāṇi Tib. ² ye cāparā T. ³ daśa or
daśo ? ⁴ baladaiḥ K. ⁵ iha K. T. Tib. cf. VI Bhūmi, No.
20. ⁶ upagatāna guṇā anantā ? ⁷ iha K. T. ⁸ guṇādhyāḥ
R. T. guṇādhyāḥ K. ⁹ maitrāśayaḥ Tib. Chin. Mong. ¹⁰ dhīrāḥ
is added in K. T. ¹¹ daśad-diśi ? ¹² Metre: Sloka. ¹³ eṣā K.

Prose	Gāthā	Prose	Gāthā
(P. 67) L	{ 23 24 25 26	(P. 71) Q }	30
(P. 68) M	27	R }	
(P. 69) N	28	(P. 72) S	{ 31 32 33
(P. 70) O	a		34
P	{ b c d		

IX. Ninth Bhūmi, Initial Gāthā.

¹imāṃ bhūmi prabhāsātā kampitāḥ kṣetra-koṭayāḥ |
 adhiṣṭhānā narendrasya aprameyā acintiyā || 1 ||
 abhāsa rucirā muktāḥ kāyataḥ sarva-darśino² |
³tayāvabhāsītāḥ kṣetrāḥ sattvās ca sukhitās tayā⁴ || 2 ||
 bodhisattva-sahasrāṇi antarīkṣe sthitāni ca |
 divyātikrānta-pūjāya pūjyante⁵ vadatāṃ varam || 3 ||
 mabheśvarā deva-putrā vāśavartī praharṣītāḥ |
 nānā-prakāra-pūjabhiḥ pūjyenti guṇasāgaram || 4 ||
 tato'psara-sahasrāṇi harṣītāḥ prīṇitendriyāḥ |
 divyā suyutta⁶-saṃgītāḥ śāstu pūjām ajagrayam || 5 ||
 tebhyaś ca tūrya-nādebhya anubhāvān maharṣiṇāḥ |
 idrṣā ruta-sahasrā ravanti madhura-svarāḥ || 6 ||
⁷imi sarve⁸ jina-sutā khila-mala-vigatā
 upagata bhuvi vara surucira-caraṇāḥ |
 jaga-hita vicarati daśa diśa vṛṣabhi
 daśayi⁹ jina-cari khaga-sama-manasā || 7 ||
 nara-puri maru-puri bhujaga-pati-viṣaye
 viyuha¹⁰ daśa-diśi puṇya-balam udiritāḥ |
 tata tu bhuyu jina-suta daśayi¹¹ atulī
 jinasuta-prabhava-jinanu¹²-patha-niratā || 8 ||

¹ Metre: Śloka. (Stanzas 1—6). ² darśinā K. T. ³ tathā° R. des-ni Tib. ⁴ tathā R. T. ⁵ pūjyenti K. T. ⁶ suyuttāḥ K. T.

⁷ Metre: śāśikalā (na, na, na, na, sa) ⁸ sarva T. ⁹ da(r)śayi R. darīśayi ? ¹⁰ vyūha K. T. ¹¹ darśayi K. T.

¹² jñānu K. T.

eka-kṣetri acalita sarva-kṣetra virajā
 anugata jaga-hita śaśir iva pratibhā |
 sarva-ghoṣa-hāna¹ citta-praśamita-manasā
 viyahari² kṛta-śata-śruti³-patha-giribhiḥ || 9 ||
⁴yatra sattva hīna-citta dīna-māna-niratās
 tatra vidu śrāvaka-carī deśeti⁵ vṛṣabhi |
 yatra sattva⁶ tikṣṇa-citta pratyayāna niratās
 tatra jñāna pratyayāna darśayanti virajā || 10 ||
 ye tu sattva hita-maitra-manasā (abhiratās)⁷
 tatra tvaṃ⁸ jina-putrāna darśayanti caraṇam |
 ye tu sattva agra-śreṣṭha-mati-māna-niratās
 tatra amī buddha-kāya darśayanti atulam || 11 ||
 māyā yathā⁹ māyakāro¹⁰ darśeti¹¹ jaga-hite
 kāya-koṭi¹² naikavidhā sarva¹³-bhāva-vigatā |
 eva vidū buddha-sutā¹⁴ jñāna-māya-niratā
 darśayanti¹⁵ sarva-carī sarva-bhāva-vigatā || 12 ||
 etādṛśā ruta-sahasrān bhaṇitva madhurāṃs
 tadā maru-kanyakā jinam drṣṭvā tūṣṇīm-bhūtaḥ |
 parśad viprasanneyam avocat sugatātmajam¹⁶
 aṣṭamāyā bhāṇa ūrdhva-carim saddharma-rājinām || 13 ||

IX. Final Gāthā.

¹⁷te apramāṇa-bala-buddhi vicārayantaḥ
 susukṣma-jñāna-paramā jagatā durjñeyā¹⁸ |
 tatha guhya-sthāna sugatāna samosaranto¹⁹

¹ yāne K. jāna T. ² vyāhari K. T. ³ śuti R. śruta K.

⁴ Metre: (ra, ja, ra, ja, sa) (Tūpaka ?) ⁵ deśayati K. T.

⁶ satvā R. ⁷ ye santi sattva hita-maitra-mānasā K. ⁸ tvaṃ

K. T. ⁹ yathā K. T. ¹⁰ kāra K. ¹¹ darśayanti K. T.

darśa(ya)ti R. ¹² koṭi R. T. ¹³ tatra K. T. (sarva Chin.)

¹⁴ eva vidu buddhastānu K. ¹⁵ yanti R. ¹⁶ sugatātmaia

R. K. T. ¹⁷ Metre: Vasantatilaka. The following gāthās are

missing in T. ¹⁸ °paramāpurajaprabhedajñānā in all MSS.

¹⁹ °rante K.

bhūmi kramanti navamī jagato 'rthakārī || 14 ||
 te dhāraṇī-mukhi samādhi-samāhitagrā
 vipulā abhiññā api kṣetra-praveśanantam |
 bala-jñāna-niścayaṃ api jinū-dhairya-sthānaṃ¹
 praṇidhī-kṛpāśaya-vidū navam otaranti || 15 ||
 te atra bhūmyanugatā jina-kośa-dhārī
 kuśalās ca dharma'kuśalās² ca avyākṛtās ca |
 ye sāsṛavā api ca lokika ye ca āryās
 cintyā acintiyā³ vidū anubudhyayanti || 16 ||
 niyatāṃś ca dharma'niyatāṃ⁴ pravacārayanti
 traya-yāna-sampada-kriyāṃ paritārayanti |
 bhūmi-dharma yathā adhimukti pracārataś ca
 abhisamskaronti yathā lokya tath'otaranti || 17 ||
 te eva-jñān'-anugatā vara-sūkṣma-buddhī⁵
 sattvāna citta-gaṇaṃ parimārgayanti |
 ("cittam vicitra-kṣaṇa-varta-nivartatām ca)
 cittam ananta-prabhavaṃ sada otaranti || 18 ||
 kleśāna'nādina⁶ prayoga-sahāyataś ca
 ye paryutthāna'nuśayā gati-sandhitaś ca |
 tatha karma-praveśa vicitra-vibhaktitaś ca⁷
 hetū niruddha phala'nāśa⁸ samotaranti || 19 ||
 indriya yā mṛduka-madhya-udārataś ca
 sambheda pūvam aparānta samotaranti |
 adhimukti-naika-vividhā śubha āśubhataś⁹ ca
 catvāri āśīti sahasra samotaranti || 20 ||
 dhātū-praveśa jaga-bhāvita kleśa-drṣṭī

¹ jinuvairya-sthānaṃ K. ² dharmakuśalās R. ³ acintya K.
⁴ dharmaniyatām R. K. ⁵ ca sukhuma-buddhī R. ca sūkṣma° K. blo
 mehog phra ldan-pa Tib. ⁶ One pada is missing here in the Skt.
 MSS. rnam-śes sna-tshogs myur-du hgyur-shin ldog-pa dan | Tib.
⁷ cittam R. ⁸ kleśānanādina R. °ananta Tib. Chin. ⁹ karma-
 vicitra-praveśa vibhaktitaś ca K. ¹⁰ aviprapāśa-phala in Prose.
 phalanāśa R. Tib. 無果報(法護). 果不失(覺賢). 果集(實叉難陀; 尸羅達摩).
¹¹ āśubhataś K.

gahanam gata¹ anavarāgra-acchedataś ca |
 ye āśayā anuśayā sahaja-pracāri
 cittā-samosṛta-nibaddha accheda-tanti || 21 ||
 cittam² yathā anuśayā na ca dravya-bhūto
 na ca deśa-sthā na ca viprivasanti āśayā |
 durheya dhyāna-viśayānabhivartiyāś ca
 chedaś ca mārga-vinayena³ na cānyam asti || 22 ||
 upapatti-ṣaḍ-gati-vibhakti-praveśataś ca
 sneham ca tṛṣṇam avidyāndhaka karma-kṣetrā |
 vijñāna-bīja sahajānkura nāma-rūpam
 trai-dhātuke anavarāgra samotaranti || 23 ||
 te vāsanā-gati kileśa ca karma cittā
 suvihāratāya na⁴ punar-gati-santa kāmā |
 rāśi-tribhir niyata sattva samotaranti
 dr̥ṣṭi-nimagnam api jñāna samotaranti || 24 ||
 evam visaraṇa-gataḥ sthita atra⁵ bhūmyām
 sarva-sattva-āśaya yathendriya yādhimuktiḥ |
 teṣām arthe dharma-vibhakti prakāśayanti
 pratisamvid artha kuśalāḥ pratibhā nirukti⁶ || 25 ||
 te dharma-bhāṇaka-gati anuprāpta (sthānam)⁷
 siṃha-riṣabha-nibhā giri-rāja-kalpāḥ |
 abhipravarṣanti⁸ madhuram amṛtasya varṣam
 bhujagendra sāgara yathā⁹ anupūrayanti || 26 ||
 hitārtha¹⁰-jñāna-kuśalās tatha dharmatāyām
 sarvaṃ nirukt'-anugataḥ pratibhāna-prāptāḥ |
 te dhāraṇi-daśa-asamkhyā-sahasra-labdā¹¹
 dhāranti dharma yātha (sāgara varṣa-dhārī)¹² || 27 ||
 evam ca dhāraṇi-viśuddhi-samādhi-prāpta

¹ gahana-gatā R. ² ayam K. āśaya Tib. ³ vajireṇa Tib. Mong. Chin. ⁴ ca R. K. na Tib. Chin. ⁵ agra P1. ⁶ prati-samvidā kuśala-mūla samotaritvā B. cf. Mahāvvyutpatti, ed. Sakaki, section XIII. ⁷ gnas-pa Tib. ⁸ ati-kramayanti K. ⁹ (varṣā ?) R. ¹⁰ (nitārtha ?) R. arthārtha Tib. ¹¹ labdhāḥ R. ¹² chos-rnams ḥdsin-pa rgya-mtsho sprin-chen char ḥdsin bshin | Tib.

eka-kṣaṇena dāśi-buddha-sahasra-dṛṣṭāḥ¹ |
 śravaṇena² dharma-ratanam ca nideśayanti
 (³ekaika-maṇḍala-viśuddhi-svarāṅga-gatāḥ) || 28 ||
 vyohārate tri-sahasra-maha-lokadhātum
 pariśeṣa-sattva-vividhās traya-ratanebhyaḥ |
 toṣenti sarva yatha indriya āśayās ca
 catu-dvīpa-sāgara-varṣā sama modayanti⁴ || 29 ||
⁵(bhūyottariṃ guṇinu vīrya samārabhante)
 citt'anti vāla-prasar'asmi sucetanantāḥ |
 deśeyu⁶ dharma sugatāḥ puna nāna-sattvaṃ
 śrutvā dharema yatha sarvada (bīja-dhārī)⁷ || 30 ||
 (yāvataḥ)⁸ jagat'īha praviśanti sattvāḥ
⁹(te sarva eka-pariṣanmaṇḍale niṣaṇṇās ca) |
 eṣāṃ ca eka-kṣaṇi sarvi samotaritvā
 ekā-rutena imi tarpayitavya sarve || 31 ||
¹⁰(atra sthitā nara-maruttama dharma-rājā
 bhontī dharmair jina-sutāḥ paricalayanti |)
 rātriṃ divaṃ sada jinaiḥ¹¹ samadhānu¹²-prāptā
 gambhīra-śānta sthita jñāna-vimokṣa dhīra || 32 ||
¹³(te' neka-buddha-niyutāṃ paryupāsayante)
 bhontī uttapta paṇu¹⁴ cakravartāḥ prabhāvā |
 tasya kleśa-gahanāni prabhā samājiya
 brahmaṇo 'va dvisahasrika-lokadhātūḥ || 33 ||

¹ prāptāṃ (dṛṣṭāṃ ?) R. mthoñ Tib. 見多佛 Chin. ² kṣaṇena R. aṇena K. thob-nas Tib. 開法 Chin. ³ One pada is missing here in the Skt. MSS. chag-gi dkyil-hkhor rnam-dag dbyaṅs-kyi yan-lag ldan | Tib. ⁴ sam(a)modayanti R. ⁵ One pada is missing here in the Skt. MSS. ⁶ deśaya R. ⁷ thos-nas sa-bon kun ḥdsin sa bshin yons-su ḥdsin | Tib. ⁸ daśadisi Tib. Chin. ⁹ One pada is missing here in the Skt. MSS. ¹⁰ Two padas are missing here in the Skt. MSS. ¹¹ ca dakṣiṇaiḥ R. sadā jinaiḥ K. Tib. Chin. ¹² Corresponds to "samodhānu", Skt. "samavadhāna". "samadhānu" metri causa. ¹³ One pada is missing here in the Skt. MSS. ¹⁴ khaṇḍa K. (paṇu=pāṇḍu)

¹(atra sthitā guṇadharā) maha-brahma loka
 bhontī (tri-yāna-deśanam viditvānubhava |)
 yaṃ caivam ārabhati sarva-jagad-dhitāya
 sarva-jñajñān'upagatā guṇa-jñāna-prāptā || 34 ||
²(kṣetrāpramāṇa-paryāpanna) ekā-rajāgre
 kṣaṇi eki (tattaka samādhi u-)penti dhīrāḥ |
 (dṛṣṭvā sarve diśi jināṃs ca vacaḥ śṛṇonti)
 tato vikurvi praṇidhāna³nvitapramāṇaḥ || 35 ||
⁴ity-eṣā navamī bhūmir⁵ mahā-jñāna⁶-vicārinā |
 gambhīrā durdṛśā sūkṣmā⁷ nirdiṣṭā sugatatmajāḥ || 36 ||

Bhūmi IX.

Prose	Gāthā 1—13	Prose	Gāthā
(P. 73) A	{14 15}	I	23
B	{16 17}	J	{a b c d} 24
C	{a b c d} 18	(P. 76) K	L
(P. 74) D	{a b c d} 19	M	a b c d } 26
E	{a b c d} 20	(P. 77) N } O—X }	{a b c d} 27
F	{a b c d} 21	(P. 79) Y	{a b c d} 28
G	{a b c d} 22	Z	29—35
(P. 75) H			36

¹ The following two padas seem to be too badly preserved to justify reconstruction. ² The following three padas too badly preserved to justify reconstruction.

³ °dhānā° R. ⁴ Metre: Śloka. ⁵ bodhisatva-bhūmir R. ⁶ mahāyāna Chin. (法華譯)

⁷ sūkṣmā is missing in K. R.

X. Tenth Bhūmi, Initial Gāthā.

¹eva śrutva caraṇam anuttamaṃ
 suddha²-vāsa-nayutaḥ praharṣitaḥ |
 antarīkṣa-sthita prīnitendriyāḥ
 pūjayanti sugataṃ tathāgataṃ || 1 ||
 bodhisattva-nayuta acintiyā³
 antarīkṣa-gati-prāpti-harṣitaḥ |
 gandha-megha-atulān manomayān⁴
 dhūpayanti sattva-kleśa-ghātināḥ || 2 ||
 deva-rāja-vaśavartī prīṇito
 antarīkṣa tri-sahasra-koṭibhiḥ |
 vastrakailā samakarī⁵ sagaṇuravā
 bhrāmayanti rucirān varān śataṃ⁶ || 3 ||
 apsara bahava prīnitendriyāḥ
 pūjayanti sugataṃ sagaṇuravāḥ |
 tūrya-koṭi-nayutaḥ pravāḍita⁷
 eva-rūpa-ravu-yukta rāvataḥ || 4 ||
 eka-kṣetra sugato niṣaṇṇakaḥ
 sarva-kṣetri pratibhāsa darśayī |
 kāya-koṭi-vividhā manoramā
 dharma-dhātu-vipulān⁸ spharitvā || 5 ||
 eka-roma sugatasya rasmayo
 niścaraṇti jaga-kleśa śāmyati |
⁹śakyu (kṣetra-rāja-dhātu 'pi kṣayī
 tasya rasmi-gaṇanā) tv ajānitum || 6 ||
 keci buddha-vara-lakṣaṇaṃ viduḥ
 paśyayanti vara-cakra-vartināḥ |
 anya kṣetra vara-carya uttamāṃ

¹ Metre: Rathoddhata. evaṃ R. K.² suddha R.³ acintakāḥ K.⁴ manoramān Tib. Chin.⁵ samakarī R.

samakarī K.

⁶ rucirān varān śata R.⁷ pravāḍitaḥ R.⁸ vipulāṃ R.⁹ The following two padas too badly preserved to justify reconstruction.

śodhayanti dvipadendra dṛśyate || 7 ||
¹(tuṣitāyatana-prāpta nāyako)
 cyavamānu caṅkramāṇa dṛśyate |
 garbha-prāpta bahu-kṣetra-koṭiṣu
 jāyamāna kvaci² kṣetra dṛśyate || 8 ||
 niṣkramanta jaga-hetu nāyako
 budhyamāna puna bodhim uttamām³ |
⁴(dharma-cakravarta nirvṛtāgato)
 dṛśyamāna buddha-kṣetra-koṭiṣu || 9 ||
 māya-kāra yatha vidya-śikṣito
 jivikārtha bahu-kāya darśayī |
 tadva śāstu vara-prajña-śikṣito
 sarva-kāya'bhinihartu (sattvana) || 10 ||
 śūnya śānta gata dharma-'lakṣaṇā⁵
 antarīkṣa-sama prāpta dharmatām |
 buddha-śāstu paramārtha tatvatam⁶
 darśayī pravara-buddha-gocaram || 11 ||
 yatha svabhāvu sugatāna gocara
 sarva-sattva tatha prāpta dharmatām |
 lakṣa-'lakṣa⁷-samalakṣa tādṛśa
 sarva-dharma-paramārtha-lakṣaṇāḥ⁸ || 12 ||
 ye tu jñāna sugatāna arthike
 kalpa'kalpa-parikalpa-varjitam⁹ |
 bhāva'bhāva-samabhāva-buddhayaḥ
 kṣipra bheṣyati nareśa uttamāḥ || 13 ||
¹⁰idṛśān ruta-sahasrān bhaṇitva madhura-svarāḥ |
 maru-kanyā jinam lokya tūṣṇī-bhūtāḥ same ratāḥ || 14 ||
 prasannam paṇṣadam jñātvā mokṣacandro viśaradaḥ |
 vajragarbham tridhāprechat jina-putram viśaradam || 15 ||

¹ One pada is missing here in the Skt. MSS.

² kaci K.

³ uttamām R.

⁴ One pada is missing here in the Skt. MSS.

⁵ dharma-lakṣaṇā R.

⁶ tatvam ca K.

⁷ lakṣa-lakṣ(y)a R.

⁸ alakṣaṇāḥ Tib. Chin.

⁹ tam R.

¹⁰ Metre: Śloka.

daśamī-saṃkramantānāṃ kiṃśaṃ guṇa-gocaram |
 nimitta-prātihāryāṃś ca sarvam ākhyā(hi)¹ parikrama
 || 16 ||

Introduction in Prose to the Gāthās occurring
 at the end of the Parīdanā-Parivarta
 (Rahder edition, p. 99).

Atha khalu vajragarbho bodhisattvo daśa diśaṃ
 vyavalokya sarvāvatīṃ paśadam vyavalokya dharma-
 dhātum ca vyavalokayan sarvajñatā-cittotpādam ca saṃ-
 varṇayan bodhisattva-viśayam ādarśayaṇī caryābalaṃ
 pariśodhayan sarvākārajñatā-saṃgraham anuvyāharan
 sarvaloka-malam apakarṣayan sarvajñajñānam upasaṃ-
 harann² acintyajñāna-niryūham ādarśayan bodhisattva-
 guṇān prabhāvayann eva eva bhūmyartham prarūpa-
 yamāno buddhānubhāvena tasyāṃ velāyāṃ imā gāthā
 abhāṣata ||

X. Final Gāthā.

śama-dama-niratānāṃ śānta-dāntāśayānāṃ
 khaga-patha-saṃśānāṃ antarīkṣa-saṃnāṃ |
 khila-mala-vidhūtānāṃ mārga-jñāne sthitānāṃ
 śrūta cari-viśeṣān bodhisattvāna śreṣṭhān || 1 ||
 kuśala-śata-sahasraṃ saṃciyā kalpa-koṭyā

¹ ākhyāhi K. ² saṃpharan P1. ³ Gāthās describing the twelve aspects of Bodhicitta and the ten Bhūmis, occurring at the end of the Parīdanā-parivarta (Rahder, p. 99) only in the Skt. MSS. P 1, P2, C2, N, B, K. The gāthās describing bodhicitta-aspects No. 4-12 are missing in all Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian translations. On the other hand, the number of gāthās describing the 10th bhūmi in the Skt. MSS. is very small in comparison with the numerous gāthās dealing with the 10th bhūmi ("final gāthās of the 10th bhūmi") in the Chin., Tib. and Mong. versions. ⁴ Metre: Mālinī.

buddha-śatasahasrān pūjayitvā maharṣīn |
 pratyaya-jina-vaśīṃś cā pūjayitvā anantān
 sarva-jagata hitāyā jāyate bodhicittam || 2 ||
 vrata-tapa-tapitānām kṣānti-pāramgatānām
 hiri-śiri-caritānām puṇya-jñānodgatānām |
 vipula-gati-matīnām buddha-jñānāśayānām
 daśa-bala-sama-tulyam jāyate bodhicittam || 3 ||
 yāva jina triyadhuvā pūjanārthāya pūjam
 khaga-patha-pariṇāmaṃ śodhanam sarva-kṣetram |
¹samyag-²anugatārthe yāvata sarva dharmān
 mokṣa jagata arthe jāyate bodhicittam || 4 ||
³pramudita-sumatīnām dāna-dharmā-ratānām
 sakala-jaga-hitārthe nityam evodyatānām |
 jina-guṇa-niratānām sattva-rakṣā-vratānām
 tri-bhuvana-hita-kārye jāyate bodhicittam || 5 ||
 akuśala-viratānām śuddha-śīlāvratānām
 vrata-niyama-ratānām śānta-saumyendriyānām |
 jina-śaraṇa-gatānām bodhi-caryāśayānām
 tri-bhuvana-hita-sādhyaṃ jāyate bodhicittam || 6 ||
 anugata-kuśalānām kṣānti-sauratya-bhājām
 vidita-guṇa-rasānām tyakta-mānotsavānām |
 nihita-śubha-matīnām dāntu-saumyāśayānām
 sakala-hita-vidhāne jāyate bodhicittam || 7 ||
 pracalita-śubha-kāryā dhīra-vīryotsahāye
 nikhila-jana-hitārthe prodyayāmāna simhāḥ |
 avirata-guṇasādhyaḥ nirjita-kleśa-saṃghā⁴
 ṛṭi⁵ manasi teṣāṃ jāyate bodhicittam || 8 ||
 susamavahita-cittā dhvasta-mohāndhakārā
 vigalita-mada-mānā tyakta-saṃkliṣṭa-mārgāḥ |

¹ sammata? R.² anupagatorthe K.³ The following

Indian gāthās are totally different from the corresponding gāthās in the Chin., Tib., Mong. versions, which agree among themselves.

⁴ saṃghāḥ R.⁵ ṛjv-iti(?), "instantaneously", suggested by Prof.

Caland. R. ṛṇṇi K. cf. Mahāvīyutpatti, ed. Sakaki, No. 8222-4.

śama-sukha-niratā ye tyakta-saṃsāra-saṅgā¹
 ṛṭiti² manasi teṣāṃ jāyate bodhicittam || 9 ||
 vimala-kha-sama-cittā jñāna-vijñāna-vijñā
 nihata-namnci-mārā vānta-kleśābhimānāḥ |
 jina-pada-śaraṇa-sthā labdha-tatvārthakā ye
 sapadi manasi teṣāṃ jāyate bodhicittam || 10 ||
 tri-bhuvana-śīva-sādhyopāya-vijñāna-dhīrah
 kalivala-parihāropāya-vidyardddhimantaḥ |
 sugata-guṇa-samīhā ye ca puṇyānurāgāḥ³
 sapadi mansi teṣāṃ jāyate bodhicittam || 11 ||
 tri-bhuvana-hita-kāmā bodhi-saṃbhāra-pūryye
 praṇihita-manasā ye duṣkare'pi caranti |
 avirata-śubha-karma-prodyatā bodhisattvāḥ
 sapadi manasi teṣāṃ jāyate bodhicittam || 12 ||
 daśa-bala-guṇa-kāmā bodhi-caryānuraktā
 vijita-kali-valaughās tyakta-mānānuṣaṅgāḥ⁴ |
 anugata-śubha-mārgā labdha-dharmārtha-kāmā⁵
 ṛṭiti² manasi teṣāṃ jāyate bodhicittam || 13 ||
 iti gaṇita-guṇāṃśā bodhi-caryāś carantu
 jinapada-praṇidhānāḥ sat-saṃrddhip labhantu |
 tri-guṇa-parivīśuddha bodhicittam labhantu
 tri-śaraṇa-parīśuddhā bodhisattvā bhavantu || 14 ||
⁶daśa pāramitāḥ pūryya daśa-bhūmīśvaro bhavet |
 bhūyo'pi kathyate hy etac chrutaivam samāsataḥ || 15 ||
 bodhi-cittam yadāsādyā saṃpradānam karoti yaḥ |
 tadā pramuditam prāpto jambūdvīpeśvaro bhavet || 16 ||
 tatra sthaḥ pālayan sattvān yathecchā pratipādanaiḥ |
 svayam dāne pratiṣṭhitvā parāṃś cāpi niyojayet || 17 ||
 sarvān bodhau pratiṣṭhāpya saṃpūrṇā dāna-pāragāḥ |
 etad-dharmānubhāvena saṃvaram samupācaret || 18 ||

¹ saṃgāḥ R. K.² ṛṭiti R. ruṭiti K.³ °rāgā R.⁴ °nuṣaṅgāḥ R. K.⁵ kāmāḥ R.⁶ Metre : Śloka.

samyac-chīlam samādhāya¹ samvara-kuśalī bhavet |
 tataḥ sa vimalā-prāptas catur-dvīpeśvaro bhavet || 19 ||
 tatra sthaḥ pālayan sattvān akuśala-nivāraṇaiḥ |
 svayaṁ śīle pratiṣṭhitvā parāṁś cāpi niyojayet || 20 ||
 sarvān bodhau pratiṣṭhāpya sampūrṇa śīla-pāragah |
 etad-dharma-vipākena kṣānti-vratam upāśrayet || 21 ||
 samyak-kṣānti-vratam dhṛtvā kṣānti-bhṛt-kuśalī bhavet |
 tataḥ prabhākari-prāptas trayastrimśādhipo bhavet || 22 ||
 tatra sthaḥ pālayan sattvān kleśa-mārga-nivāraṇaiḥ |
 svayaṁ kṣānti-vrate sthitvā parāṁś cāpi niyojayet || 23 ||
 sattvān bodhau pratiṣṭhāpya kṣānti-pāraṁgato bhavet |
 etat-punya-vipākaiḥ sa vīrya-vratam upāśrayet² || 24 ||
 samyag-vīryaṁ samādhāya vīrya-bhṛt-kuśalī bhavet |
 tataś cārīṣmatī-prāptaḥ suyāmādhīpatir bhavet || 25 ||
 tatra sthaḥ pālayan sattvān kuḍṛṣṭi-saṁnivāraṇaiḥ |
 samyag-dr̥ṣṭau pratiṣṭhāpya bodhayitvā prayatnataḥ || 26 ||
 svayaṁ vīrya-vrate sthitvā parāṁś cāpi niyojayet |
 sarvān bodhau pratiṣṭhāpya vīrya-pāraṁgato bhavet
 || 27 ||
 etat-punya-vipākaiś ca dhyāna-vratam samāśrayet |
 sarva-kleśān vinirjitya samādhi-suṣṭhito bhavet || 28 ||
 samyag-dhyānaṁ samādhāya samādhi-kuśalī bhavet |
 tataḥ sudurjayā-prāptaḥ saṁtusiṭādhipo bhavet || 29 ||
 tatra sthaḥ pālayan sattvān tīrthya-mārga-nivāraṇaiḥ |
 satya-dharmaṁ pratiṣṭhāpya bodhayitvā prayatnataḥ
 || 30 ||
 svayaṁ dhyāna-vrate sthitvā parāṁś cāpi niyojayet |
 sarvān bodhau pratiṣṭhāpya dhyāna-pāraṁgato bhavet
 || 31 ||
 etat-punya-vipākaiś ca prajñā-vratam upāśrayet |
 sarva-mārān vinirjitya prajñābhijñā-saṁrddhimān || 32 ||
 samyak-prajñāṁ samādhāya svabhijñā-kuśalī bhavet |

¹ samāsādyā K.² vipākaiś ca sa vīrya-vratam āśrayet K.

tataś cābhimukhī-prāptaḥ sunirmitādhipo bhavet || 33 ||
 tatra sthaḥ pālayan sattvān abhimāna-nivāraṇaiḥ |
 śūnyatāsu pratiṣṭhāpya bodhayitvā prayatnataḥ || 34 ||
 svayaṃ prajñā-vrate sthitvā parāṃś cāpi niyojayet |
 sarvān bodhau pratiṣṭhāpya prajñāpāraṃgato bhavet
 || 35 ||

etat-punya-vipākaiś ca sa supāya¹-vratam caret |
 sarva-dṛṣṭān vinirjitya saddharma-kuśalī bhavet || 36 ||
 sa supāya²-vidhānena sattvān bodhau niyojayet |
 tato dūraṃgamā-prāpto vaśavartīśvaro bhavet || 37 ||
 tatra sthaḥ pālayan sattvān abhisamaya-bodhanaiḥ |
 bodhisattva-niyāmeṣu pratiṣṭhāpya prabodhayan || 38 ||
 tatropāye svayaṃ sthitvā parāṃś cāpi niyojayet |
 sarvān bodhau pratiṣṭhāpya hy upāya-pārago bhavet
 || 39 ||

etat-puṇyānubhāvaiś ca supraṇidhim upāśrayet |
 mithyā-dṛṣṭim vinirjitya samyag-dṛṣṭi-kṛtī buddhaḥ
 || 40 ||

supraṇihita-cittena samyag-bodhau pratiṣṭhitaḥ |
 tataś cāpy acalā-prāpto brahmā sāhasrikādhīpaḥ || 41 ||
 tatra sthaḥ pālayan sattvān tri-yāna-saṃpraveśanaiḥ |
 lokadhātu-parijñāne pratiṣṭhāpya prabodhayan || 42 ||
 supraṇidhau svayaṃ sthitvā parāṃś cāpi niyojayet |
 sarvān bodhau pratiṣṭhāpya praṇidhi-pārago bhavet
 || 43 ||

etat-puṇyānusāraiś³ ca bala-vratam upāśrayet |
 sarva-duṣṭān vinirjitya sambodhau kṛta-niścayaḥ || 44 ||
 samyag-bala-samuśāhaiḥ sarva-tīrthyā vinirjayet |
 tataḥ sādhumatī-prāpto mahābrahmā bhavet kṛtī || 45 ||
 tatra sthaḥ pālayan sattvān buddha-yānopadarśanaiḥ |
 satvaśaya-parijñāne pratiṣṭhāpya prabodhayan || 46 ||
 svayaṃ bale pratiṣṭhītvā parāṃś cāpi niyojayet |

¹ ca samupāya K.

² samupāya K.

³ puṇyānubhāvaiś K.

'sarvān bodhau pratiṣṭhāpya bala-pāramgato bhavet
 || 47 ||
 etat-punya-vipākaiś ca jñāna-vratam upāśrayet |
 catur-mārān vinirjitya bodhisattvo guṇākaraḥ || 48 ||
 samyag-jñānam samāsādyā saddharma-kuśalī bhavet |
 dharmamegham tataḥ prāpto maheśvaro bhavet kṛti
 || 49 ||
 tatra sthaḥ pālayan sattvān sarvākārānubodhanaiḥ |
 sarvākāra-vare jñāne pratiṣṭhāpya prabodhayan || 50 ||
 svayam jñāne pratiṣṭhitvā parāṃś cāpi niyojayet |
 sarvān bodhau pratiṣṭhāpya jñāna-pāramgato bhavet
 || 51 ||
 etat-puṇyānubhāvaiś ca daśabhūmīśvaro jitaḥ² |
 sarvākāra-guṇādhāraḥ sarvajño dhrmarāḍ bhavet || 52 ||
 iti matvā bhavadbhiś ca sambodhi-pada-labdhaye |
 daśa-pāramitā-pūryyai caritavyam samāhitaiḥ || 53 ||
 tathā bodhim śivam prāpya catur-mārān vijitya ca |
 sarvān bodhau pratiṣṭhāpya nirvṛtim samavāpsyatha
 || 54 ||
 etac chrutvā pariññāya caradhvam bodhi-sādhane |
 nirvighnam bodhim āsādy labhadhvam saugatām gatim
 || 55 ||

Parindana Section in Prose.

Etās tāḥ khalu punar bho jinaputrā daśa bodhisattva-
 bhūmayāḥ samāsato nirdiṣṭā sarvākāra-varopeta-sarva-
 jñajñānanugatā draṣṭavyāḥ | tasyaṃ velāyām ayaṃ tri-
 sāhasra-mahā-sāhasro lokadhātuh³ ṣaḍ-vikāram prakampat |
 vividhāni ca puṣpāṇi viyatāny apatan | divya-mānuṣ-
 yakāni ca tūryāṇi sampravāditāny abhūvan | anumodanā-
 śabdena ca yāvad akanīṣṭha-bhuvanam vijñaptam abhūt ||

¹ One pada is missing in K.

² jinaḥ ? R.

³ lokāḥ R.

atha tasmin samaye bhagavāms tām vimukticandra-pramukhān sarvān¹ bodhisattvān āmantr(a)yaivam ādiśat | imāṃ ahaṃ mārṣā asaṃkhyeya-kalpa-koṭī-nayuta-śata-sahasra-samudānitām anuttarāṃ samyak-sambodhiṃ yuṣmākaṃ haste parindāyy anuparindāmi paramayā parindanayā² | tad yūyaṃ sarve svayaṃ caivam imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ dhārayata parebhyaśca vistareṇa samprakāśayeta | saṃkṣepān mārṣā yadi 'tathāgataḥ kalpasthitikenāyuh-pramāṇena rātriṃ divam adhiṭṭhitaṃ 'sya dharmaparyāyasya varṇaṃ bhāṣate naivāsyā dharmaparyāyasya varṇa-paryanto bhavet na ca tathāgata-pratibhāna-kṣayo bhavet || yathā tathāgata-śīla-samādhi-prajñā-vimuktijñāna-darśanam apramāṇam aparyantam evaṃ eva mārṣā ya imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ udgrhīṣyati dhārayiṣyati vācayiṣyati likhīṣyati likhāpayiṣyati paryavāpsyati pravartayiṣyati parśan-madhye ca vistareṇa samprakāśayiṣyati || anena cittena katham aṃi sattvā evaṃ udāra-dharmasya lābhinaḥ spuritī⁴-śraddhayā satkṛtya śrāvayiṣyanti śroṣyanti ca yoniśo manasi bhāvayiṣyanti ca || pustaka-likhitam kṛtvā grāhe dhārayiṣyati satkariṣyati gurukariṣyati mānayiṣyati pūjayiṣyati || amātsarya-cittatayāsyā dharmaparyāyasya varṇaṃ bhāṣitvā likhanāya vācanāya svādhyāyanāya pūjanāya darśanāya vadāsyati | teṣāṃ api nāsti puṇya-pariyantaḥ || atha khalu bhagavān asyaiva dharmaparyāyasya bhūyasyā mātrāyānuparindanārthaṃ tasyāṃ velāyāṃ imā gāthā abhāṣata ||

Parindana Section in Gāthās.

³sattvā drṣṭā ye mayā buddha-drṣṭyā

¹ satvān R. ² parinaṃdanatayo K.
kalpa-sthitikair nāyuh-pramāṇena rātri-divam³ R.

³ Metre: Salinf.

⁴ tathāgataiḥ
⁵ sprhita ? R.

te 'rhantaḥ syūḥ śāriputreṇa¹ tulyaḥ |
 tāṃ² cet kaścīt pūjayet kalpa-kotya
 tulyān gaṅgā³-vālukābhir yathaiva || 1 ||
 'pratyeka-buddhāya tu yaś ca pūjām
 kuryād aho-rātram api prahr̥ṣṭaḥ |
 mālya-prakāraiś ca tathāambaraiś ca
 tasmād ayaṃ puṇya-kṛtā viśiṣṭaḥ || 2 ||
 sarve'pi pratyeka-jinā yadi syus
 tān pūjayet kaścīd ihāpramattaḥ |
 puṣpaiś ca gandhaiś ca vilepanaiś ca
 kalpān anekāñ chayanānna-pānaiḥ || 3 ||
 ekasya yaś caiva tathāgatasya
 kuryāt praṇāmanam api caika-vāram |
 prasanna-citto 'tha vaden namarhan
 tasmād idaṃ śreṣṭhatarāṃ ca puṇyam || 4 ||
 buddhā bhaveyur yadi sarva-sattvās
 tān pūjayet yaś ca yathaiva pūrvam |
 divyaiś ca puṣpair atha mānuṣaiś ca
 kalpān anekān bahubhiḥ prakāraiḥ || 5 ||
 yaś caiva saddharma-vilopa-kāle
 tyaktvā svakāyaṃ ca tathātma-jīvam |
 dadyād aho-rātram idaṃ hi sūtraṃ⁵
 viśiṣyate puṇyam idaṃ hi tasmāt || 6 ||
 yasyepsitaṃ pūjayitum jinendrān⁶
 pratyeka-buddhān api śrāvakāpś ca |
 dṛḍhaṃ samutpādyā sa bodhi-cittam
 idaṃ sadā sūtra-varam dadātu || 7 ||
 rājā hy ayaṃ sarva-subhāṣitanām
 so'bhyudgataḥ sarva-tathāgatānām |
 gr̥he sthitas tasya tathāgataḥ sa

¹ śāliputreṇa R.² tāṃś?³ tulyāṃ gaṅgā R.⁴ Metre: Indravajrā.⁵ sūtraṃ R.⁶ jinendrā R. jinendrām K.

tiṣṭhed idaṃ yatra hi sūtra¹-ratnam || 8 ||
 prabhāṃ sa² prāpnoti śubhāṃ anantāṃ
 ekaṃ-padaṃ-vādi śatī-hayaś ca |
 na vyamjanād grasyati nāpi cārthād
 dadāti yaḥ sūtram idaṃ parebhyaḥ || 9 ||
³anuttarāsau nara-nāyakānāṃ
 sattvo na kaścit sadṛśo 'sya vidyate |
 bhavet samudreṇa samaś ca so 'kṣayaḥ⁴
 śrutvā hi yo dharmam imaṃ prapadyate || 10 || . . .

¹ sūtra R. ² prabhāsa K. ³ Metre : Vamśastha. and
 Indravamśā. anuttaro sau^o K. ⁴ mokṣayaḥ K.

IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES, VI

MYŌSHINJI

Myōshinji standing in the western part of Kyoto is the largest temple in Japan, belonging to Rinzai Zen. It was built originally by the Emperor Hanazono as an imperial villa, but as he was deeply devoted to Zen he converted the palace into a temple, called it Myōshinji, which means "Temple of Mysterious Mind," and gave it to the priest Kwanzan Kokushi (1277-1360) to whom he was deeply devoted. The Emperor built a small temple for himself in the grounds of Myōshinji and there he became a priest after his retirement.

Kwanzan Kokushi called Egen who became the first abbot of Myōshinji was Daito Kokushi's most gifted pupil.

The temple flourished until the days of the Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. When Ouchi Yoshihiro, a pupil of the abbot, rebelled against the Shōgun, Yoshimitsu was very angry and confiscated the temple. Later, it was rebuilt by Nichiho but was burned down during the Ōnin War. But at last it was re-built for the third time by the priest Sekko and has since flourished as the foremost of Japan's Zen temples.

Myōshinji consists of many buildings large and small set in spacious grounds with fine old pine trees. As Gaston Migeon says, "On every side there are more temple porches, their noble architecture enriched by splendid wood carving, great courtyards, the fine sand of which is constantly raked, and lastly trees, rising always just at the spot, where the outlines and the fanciful arabesque of their branches will enhance the beauty of the scene. Myōshinji may be considered the type of these beautiful semi-religious, semi-imperial residences."

The temple buildings were constructed at a time when

whole trees were used for beams and the interior of some of the rooms are like vast cathedrals, while the heavy tiled roofs on the outside give an effect of grandeur.

The sammon or great gate in its upper story has an impressive statue of Shakya the Buddha, and around him are his companions, the sixteen Arhats. These are three-quarter life size, most interesting in their various poses and forceful expressions, two or three young and handsome, but most of them resembling hardy, gnarled old trees, men of will and determination who have resolved to walk the path of the Arhat. The decorations of the room in blue and gold with the vista of green pine-trees through the open door make an unforgettable picture.

The great bell of Myōshinji is famous for its pure full tone which is greatly admired. The Temple bell! How often in Japanese literature and religion do we find these words, and when we read them we seem to hear the reverberant strokes of some great temple bell, perhaps of Myōshinji. This bell was cast in 697 C. E.

The Gyokuho is the Holy of Holies, as it were, of Myōshinji, for this was the retreat for thirty years of the Emperor Hanazono, and mementoes of his are scattered about Myōshinji but specially concentrated here at the Gyokuho where his memorial tablet is enshrined and his statue preserved. This statue sits in an attitude of meditation in the mystical darkness beyond the beautiful madreperl panels which Hideyoshi brought as trophy from Korea. Priestly robes are arranged as in life upon the statue which is remarkably realistic and a fine piece of sculpture.

Just beyond this quiet retreat is the hall for the founder of the temple, Kwanzan Kokushi, the priest-friend of the Emperor. The Hall in which his effigy is reverently kept is dark, for the floors are all of black lacquer. Every day, the face of the founder's statue is wiped, and tea and rice are offered to him as if he were still alive. There is nothing here to disturb his meditation. All is still, the trees of the

garden bend down their branches to the grey sand and the wide white stepping stones beneath, as if to protect the sacred interior from intrusion.

In the Nehando is the famous black bronze slab carved by Yoshioka Buzen representing the death of the Buddha when all the animals came sorrowing to his departure. A similar slab is preserved at Kōyasan.

In the placid garden is the shrine dedicated to Sutegimi, Hideyoshi's first son who died when he was only a very little boy. His statue gazes wistfully at us, but the toy ship in which his representation used to sit, has been taken away to the Museum. His early death by drowning was a great disappointment and sorrow to the house of Toyotomi.

In the building called Hatto or ceremonial hall is the great dragon painted on the ceiling by Tannyu Hōgen Morinobu.

It was at the time of Gudo that the dragon was painted on the ceiling of the Hatto (literally, Dharma-hall) by Tannyu, one of the most illustrious names of the Kano school. The story runs thus: Gudo one day asked the painter to draw a dragon for his temple, but the latter refused on the ground that he never saw a dragon in his life. Gudo said, "If so, I will let you see one if you so desire." As he agreed, the abbot gave him a *kōan*, saying, "When you solve it, you will see a living dragon." It took some time before Tannyu could solve the problem. He then came to the abbot and said, "I have seen a dragon." The abbot demanded, "I should like to see it with my own eyes and also hear it roar." After several vain attempts to make him hear the roaring dragon, Tannyu decided to paint one on the ceiling with all the artistic skill he could command. When the time came to unveil the picture the abbot stepped into the Hall to conduct the ceremony. The curtains were drawn back, and lo! the fierce dragon with a pair of glaring eyes and with a deafening roar came forth from among the clouds of lightning and thunder. It looked as if it were

about to devour the abbot, who was greatly alarmed and for a while unable to go on with the recitation. And this same creature painted three hundred years ago we see in the Hall.

Mr Pier well describes it when he says, "So realistically is the monster depicted that the giant shafts of the columns, each and all of hard *Keyaki*-wood, appear to tremble beneath its convulsive onrush. Truly superb are the great sweeps of glossiest and deepest black, soft rose pink and glowing yellow in which Tannyu has painted it. It seems, indeed, that the artist would have us look through the hurtling thunder-cloud in which the monster writhes and see the rose and gold of the sunset that shall presently follow the passing of this storm-fiend."

Indeed the effect of this hall with its enormous *Keyaki* pillars, the altars done in black lacquer with the brooding peaceful Buddha in the centre is impressive, while the great dragon above lights up the whole hall which otherwise would be dark and dismal.

Behind the Hatto is another large building, the Butsuden, containing three fine golden statues of Sākyamuni, Kāśyapa, and Ānanda.

The ancient bath-house building which looks as if it might be a sub-temple instead of a bath-house, has an interesting story connected with it, for it was built for the benefit of Akechi Mitsuhide, who killed his master Oda Nobunaga.

There are many sub-temples at Myōshinji and each of them contains wonderful works of art in painting, sculpture, or in metal and lacquer work.

The Rinkwa-in has many of such treasures including the landscape designs from the brush of Tōhakū, master of sumi and powdered gold leaf. Mr Pier has an interesting note on Tōhakū's monkey which I cannot refrain from quoting, "That gifted artist has represented in his bold and rugged style, a long-armed monkey, hanging from the end of a willow branch, which reaches out far over the quiet

water of a marshy pool. The history of the painting is well known, and an amusing story is told in connection with it. It seems that the Lord of Kaga dreamt that he was attacked by one of the monkeys and that he seized his sword and struck off one of its hands. When he awoke the next morning he was astonished to find that he hacked off the arm of one of Tōhakū's monkeys. As a result these screens were always alluded to as 'the cut-arm monkey screen.' Both the subject and the technique remind one strongly of the Sung artist, Muchi, whose style Tōhakū would seem to have thoroughly digested. There is also much of Sesshū visible in the work."

The Chinese artists are well represented at Myōshinji and here at Rinkwa-in some fine examples of them are to be found and also some of the monochrome paintings of the Zen school which modeled itself upon the work of the Chinese masters.

At the Tenkyū-in screen paintings by Sanraku may be admired and at the Kaifuku-in screen paintings by Tannyu. At the Reiun-in which is sometimes called the Motonobu temple are preserved the paintings of this celebrated artist. These are considered to be the gems of Myōshinji. There are forty-nine *fusuma* (screen) landscape pictures in the Chinese style and fifty-three *kakemono* in black and white. Gaston Migeon says, "The exceptional treasures of Myōshinji, which make it a place of pilgrimage for all lovers of art who visit Japan, are the two series of paintings by Motonobu there preserved. They show two aspects of the genius of that prodigious master, one of the greatest of Japan, who gave such prestige to the school of Kano in its very beginnings, at the dawn of the fifteenth century. They consist of two series of *fusumas*, which the Emperor Reigen fortunately caused to be mounted as *kakemonos* seventy years after their execution, to save them from the ravages of time or man; they have consequently come down to us in an extraordinary state of preservation. They are preserved in the Reiun-in, where

Motonobu spent several summers studying the rules of the Zen sect, and where he painted them. He painted at the same time the portrait of his master, the priest Daikiu Kokushi, in his gold-embroidered vestments and his Chinese shoes—a portrait which impresses by its obvious fidelity and its careful, though somewhat dry and hard execution.”

The Zendo (residence for monks) is a large one and sometimes as many as ninety monks are in attendance leading the Zen life which is a combination of work and meditation. Myōshinji is one of the places where Zen is taught and lived, for Zen is a philosophy of life which helps for daily living as well as a key to unlock the secret of the universe—the revelation of the significance of life. It is to gain this that the black robed monks sit quietly at meditation in the Zendo and also undergo the discipline of the Zen life. When freedom is attained, they are rewarded and feel that their long hours of work and meditation have brought compensation.

I cannot close this story of Myōshinji without writing something of its founder, Kwanzan Kokushi. He was born in the province of Shinano as a son of a Minamoto nobleman in the year 1277 C. E. His mother once had a dream that a golden mendicant gave her a branch of a flower and in the following year she gave birth to her son. He was brought up in a religious atmosphere and became a monk when eleven years old under Daio Kokushi of Kamakura, but later he went to his home in Shinshu and built a temple there. Still later, he went to Kyoto and studied under Daito Kokushi who gave him the name of Kwanzan.

When Daito Kokushi was dying, the Emperor asked him, “Who will be my teacher when you are gone?” Daito recommended Kwanzan for his successor. When the Imperial messenger was sent to carry the news to this priest, it was not easy to find him, for he was living most modestly and humbly in the mountains, helping the villagers with their farming and wood-cutting without their suspecting who he



Kwanzan Kokushi (1277-1360)

was. At first he refused to go to the capital, but when he was told that the Emperor was depending upon him and that his own master Daito Kokushi had ordered him to be his successor as teacher to the Emperor, he reluctantly left his mountain abode. Before he left, the villagers asked him to recite a sutra, and they brought their cows which Kwanzan Kokushi had taken care of to the service that they too might share in hearing the sacred scripture recited by their former care-taker. Legend says that the cows bowed their heads and that tears filled their eyes. Probably this is a symbol of the extreme regret with which the mountain farmers parted with their priest-friend, and it shows the character of Kwanzan. It was then that the Emperor gave up his palace, made it into a temple, and presented it to Kwanzan Kokushi. Kwanzan was famous as a trainer of priests, and, when he died at eighty-four years old, was mourned by many followers.

The real founder of every Zen temple is Bodhidharma (popularly known in Japan as Daruma) the Indian priest who carried Zen teaching to China in 513 c. e. where he is said to have sat for nine years in uninterrupted meditation. He is generally represented with a beard, clad in a red robe, and is a favourite subject with Zen artists. In Zen temples his statue is always enshrined together with the founder's. He is said to be the one who introduced tea into China.

According to the story, Dharma practised every kind of asceticism, and underwent all manner of hardships. He lived only upon herbs and practised meditation day and night. But in spite of himself he could not keep awake at night, so he resolved to cut off his eyelids, and having done so, he threw them away on the ground. The next day, he was surprised to find that in that place where each eyelid had been a shrub was growing. He took the leaves of this plant and ate them and was so invigorated, he received new strength for his contemplation. This shrub was the plant now called tea.

There is a close connection between the Tea Ceremony

and Zen in principle and spirit, they are similar in doctrine, for the aim of both is to promote mental composure and meditation. We may say that the Tea Ceremony is a kind of preparation for Zen practice. As Okakura says, "Teaism is a cult founded on the adoration of the beautiful among the sordid facts of everyday existence. It inculcates purity and harmony, the mystery of mutual charity, the romanticism of the social order. It is essentially a worship of the Imperfect, as it is a tender attempt to accomplish something possible in this impossible thing we know as life. The Philosophy of Tea is not mere estheticism in the ordinary acceptance of the term, for it expresses conjointly with ethics and religion our whole point of view about man and nature. It is hygiene, for it enforces cleanliness; it is economics, for it shows comfort in simplicity rather than in the complex and costly; it is moral geometry, inasmuch as it defines our sense of proportion to the universe. It represents the true spirit of Eastern democracy by making all its votaries aristocrats in taste."

Just as there is a close connection between the Tea Ceremony and Zen doctrine so there is a close connection between the Tea Ceremony and Zen art. At the time of the Tea Ceremony, a picture would be hung in the tokonoma, for to the Zen priest, a picture was not only to hang behind an altar or place upon screens but to use for life. The Zen priests preferred black and white rather than colour as more in harmony with the strict formality of the Tea Ceremony. They were modeled upon the Zen style of the Chinese artists. Zen became pre-eminent, not only as religion, a discipline of life, but also as art. Zen grew to be a centre of culture and thought in Japan in ways that it has never lost. Much that is finest in Japan to-day bears the touch of Zen, in religion, art, literature, indeed life itself.

Myōshinji being a Zen temple is a delightful resort whether to one who is a seeker for enlightenment, a lover of books, a student of history, or a pilgrim for general insight

into Japanese culture. It is charming in natural setting, rich in artistic treasures, a centre of Zen and a key to one who would penetrate more deeply into the realm of being.

SEIREN (BLUE LOTUS)

CORRESPONDENCE

THE IDEA AND THE MAN

In his interesting article: "Mahayana Buddhism and Japanese Culture," of the July issue of this Journal, 1931, Shugaku Yamabe has twice referred to passages as being of Hinayana Āgamas. I assume that by this is meant the Pali Tripiṭakas. He omits to locate these references, which is regrettable. One of them is fairly accurately quoted from the Anguttara-Nikāya, (Pali Text ed. IV, pp. 128 ff.); the other is quoted with no less inaccuracy from Vinaya-Piṭaka (Oldenberg ed. I, p. 22 f.). So inaccurately, that it seems possible he has had before him a later Sanskrit version. I am not contending that, in the Pali version either, we have a truly reported version, so corrupt it evidently is. But the opening words of this, the first lay-sermon of the Sakyamuni, are recorded as in a true Upanishadic vein, very different from the later vein of the version quoted, yet unquestionably one that *would have been used* by the Hīnayāna editors of the record, if it had been in their tradition.

The Pali version is, that certain kṣatriya gentlemen with their wives, at what we should call a picnic, find that a courtesan, included in the party, has made off with some property. (That she was as represented is probably a monkish error, so grotesque it is.) Seeking her, they meet with the solitary, as yet unknown religieux, the kṣatriya Gotama, and ask: Has he seen a woman pass by? The reply is; What have you, kumāras, to do with woman? Were it not better that you sought the self, (*attānam*, or 'the man'; in the religious diction of the day *ātmā* and *puruṣa* would be equivalents)? That the Self, the Deity within, should be sought, be inquired after is a teaching in both the earlier Chāndogya¹ and the later Maitreya Upanishads, and as such,

¹ *Tad anveṣṭavyaṃ, tad vijijñāsitavyaṃ*. Cf. my *Sakya, or Origins of Buddhism*, 1931, pp. 201-13.

and as so worded, would not have been very palatable to Piṭaka monastic editors, and would in no case be a later gloss. Mr. Yamabe's version is: "Said the Buddha, Which is more important, the precious stones or the mind that seeks them? When they answered that the mind was more important, Buddha gave them a discourse on the subject. When this was finished, the men all abandoning their wives became at once homeless monks under the Buddha." Without dwelling on this deplorable termination, common to his version and the Pali, I would only add, the discourse in Pali was on "dhamma", not on "mind," but all we have in surviving records is alas! *not* the actual talk 'on seeking the Self', but a set piece of stereotyped formula on a variety of subjects. No Indian teacher of that day would have dreamed of starting a life-mission on so relatively secondary a subject as the mind. As to that, has Mr. Yamabe's version for "mind", *manas*, or *citta*, or *viññāna*? Each of these has a different force in the Piṭakas, and it is only the last that was then ever used to mean the man, and then only the man-in-survival. But as time went on *viññāna* came to mean merely the man as receptive of impressions. It was still later that it was used in the comprehensive way *we* use "mind".¹

But in the Vinaya version of this crucially important utterance, the word is not "mind", but *attānaṃ*, the self, or man. The significance of the word as used then and there has been quite obscured by translations having the relatively weak Western meaning (which was also the later Pali meaning) of "yourselves."

With the writer's general contention, that these Mantras were "winged words" beyond any power they may seem to have for us, I agree. Eloquence the Sakyamuni had not; he was not just orator, but his will-power must have been compelling. That, however, the early Mantra, spoken in a bookless world, had power transcending any dead *record* of it, belongs to the magic of the spoken word in such a world,

¹ E.g. in the manual *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*.

a power which will have been less of a rare phenomenon than it is now. Much more than it is now will it have been felt to be, not the words alone, not mind alone, but the very man,—let me use my word, the man-in-man—giving of himself to his fellowman. To call this-that-was-to-be-sought “the mind,” is to hold up, not, (as in Upanishadic teaching) “the most precious thing in all the world” to me, to you;¹ it is to hold up the man in a Less, not in a More, much less in the Most. And it is here that I chiefly join issue with the writer.

All religion worthy the name seeks to place before us man as a More. But we shall never worthily value man as that, if we quit hold of the man and glorify the idea. The Mahayanist, when he extols *tathatā*, suchness, thusness, has in mind “truth”, “reality”, but ultimately he means *Man as and in* what is true, real. He means man as a More in so far as *he has these values*. Drop the man and you have but an abstraction, an idea in a general way. World-religions do not begin with abstractions. Jesus never spoke of “brotherhood”, nor did the Sakyamuni of “becoming”, or of selfness, or of suchness. Preseind “such”, “real”, “true” from the man, and we have but a misty idea-world, a word-structure of what the man has been valuing “in” his minding. Ideas have in themselves no meaning, no reality save as works of Man, conceived, evolved by Man. It is only Plato and Platonists who would see in ideas a *prius* to the Man; or are Mahayanists Platonists? They cannot be that if they are sincere in looking upon Sakya, the original teaching of Gotama Sakyamuni, as the cradle and foundation of their Buddhist faith. For then they must, as the reviewer of my *Gotama the Man* says in this issue, “turn back from,” I would say, get behind, “the monk-made Buddhism of the Analysts, and seek the true spirit of the Buddha’s doctrine.” And this they will find, not in Ceylon, not in Burma or Siam, but in that teaching of India which Gotama sought to expand in that seeking of

¹ Cf. Brhadāraṇyaka Upanishad: Saṃyutta-Nikāya (Kosala).

the Self, the Man, even the Divine Man, who is the innermost inner of every man. There will they find no ideas transcending the Man, but the Man mandating himself in ideas about the Highest, that is, the Most, *by way of ideas about the More*. Always it is the imperfect man of earth striving to advance to, to become a More, a Better, not by clinging to some abstraction, but by a beholding a higher Self: Witness, Inspirer, Urger, the perfect actual He, Who the man as yet only potentially is.

As yet he can only conceive a More, call It Highest though he may. And no absorption in any abstract idea, be it Emptiness or Suchness or other, will transport him, the imperfect, into the Perfect. He is in process of becoming That Who he is potentially, and no "leap" to escape from reasoning, although it may aid him in becoming, will do more than this. I would echo the writer's words, only with an inversion of emphasis: "it is in the human personality that the grasped abstraction reveals its true significance."

Mr. Yamabe goes on to compare the man who is tathagata—that is, as I understand the term, the Wayfarer, the man-in-the-Way, the Sakyamuni's Way¹—to the artist working as "instrument to a spirit," I agree, but I hold it a lazy way to be so vague as all that about "spirit." Mr. Yamabe could find out more as to sources of inspiration if he would try. Were such effort made with serious intelligent persistence, we should come to word our spiritual life more wisely. We should find, it may be, no encouragement to mistake abstractions as such for the true, the real. We might find, in both the artist's creations and our own inspirations, always the Man willing his instrument, the man willed.

Do I much offend if I say, that for me the weakness in Mahayana lies in the "more-worth" in which it holds abstractions, ideas? Herein it has strayed from the parent-

¹ That is, for me, not the late-interpolated "eightfold way," but the way-in-the-worlds, man's long process in Becoming, worded in the Suttas as *magga* with *phala*.

stem of religion, and tends to lose itself, as do its Sūtras, in a maze of the Word. The writer does not so remain lost. Once more, in closing, he makes the Idea subservient to the Man, showing the man as in the last resort the builder of his own becoming, his own world. But let this be a world of real "things", not of the abstraction quâ abstraction: "reality".

I watch from our Pali Society with reverent sympathy the new piety in Japan seeking to know better the oldest records we yet have found of that Indian movement, which a monastic vogue, as it grew, bore along and sadly altered. Japan will do justice to the *moral* values always kept to the front in Hinayana, even though it needed Mahāyāna to expand its *ethical* values. But religious values are of the very Man, the man-in-man. And I look to Japan to realise this in the future, and to bring forward this, as the true heirs of the original Indian Sakya, and not rest content with abstract ideas. Then only will she place herself aright to conceive a More that is in man, in his nature and his destiny, while she awaits with the world the light that may yet come, the light that will be neither Hinayanism nor Mahayanism nor any other cultivated "ism", the light we shall one day be seeking in the new way, with the new values. Then indeed will she be, even in religion, the child of the Rising Sun.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

A REJOINDER TO MRS RHYS DAVIDS'S COMMENT

Regarding my article, "Mahayana Buddhism and Japanese Culture", Mrs Rhys Davids wrote a sympathetic comment for which I am thankful. While I have to own my use of certain terms not in a very scientific way, I also wish to express what I think of Mrs Rhys Davids's view of Mahayana Buddhism.

It is delightful to find that her Mahayana view is generally in agreement with mine; the difference however between us seems to lie in the differences of emphasis, which comes from a difference of standpoint, or from the different use of the same material.

First of all, I regret I was not quite exact in the use of the word "mind", which caused Mrs Rhys Davids to make unnecessary inquiries into the original sources. The word "mind" occurs in the following passage of mine: "Which is more important, the precious stones or the mind that seeks them?"—this being my English version of the sermon of Śākyamuni given to the thirty-seven young men. If this question on the part of the Buddha is to be literally translated, "the mind" should be "yourself" as my critic suggests. For not only in the Pali Vinaya-pitaka, but in its Chinese version "yourself" is used. But my use of "mind" is justified, for my intention was not a scholarly study of the text, but to inquire into the thought of the Buddha which he had at the moment. "Yourself" in this case will not lend itself generally to the understanding of the real meaning which is behind his question, hence my interpretative phrase "the mind which seeks them". This may not be, strictly speaking, in harmony with the Buddhist idea, but when the general intelligibility of the statement is concerned I think my phrasing is clear enough.

What I wished to emphasise in my telling the story of

the young men was the following two points: 1. That Gotama's idea was to turn the attention of the young men from the stolen objects to what was going on within themselves, that is, from being troubled with earthly things to the consideration of the inner world; 2. That while the sermon taken in itself was not apparently sufficient to make all those thirty-seven young men join the Brotherhood abandoning their family life, there was something behind the sermon emanating from the personality of the Buddha himself, which had a far greater spiritual effect on their young minds.

Mahayana Buddhism generally endeavours to explain why from an apparently plain discourse given by the Buddha which does not seem to be so very pregnant of weighty meaning such grave consequences result as, for instance, the abandonment of the family life. The Pali-pitaka is in a sense too fond of giving "a set piece of stereotyped formula", which fails to make one see into the inner meaning. I wish therefore to emphasise from the point of view of Mahayana Buddhism the significance of the events. The Mahayana is always intent on the inner value, which often makes it too neglectful of the outwardness of things.

As to Mrs Rhys Davids's criticism of the conception of Mahayana Buddhism, I am sorry I have to express my complete disagreement. For the idea that the Mahayana is concerned only with abstract or metaphysical arguments and artistic inspirations and lacking in morality, seems to miss the mark. So long as she rests with this preconceived idea, it is very hard for her to accept the real teaching of Mahayana Buddhism. I cannot however help feeling delighted to know that Mrs Rhys Davids who has profound knowledge of the Hinayana Tripitaka tries to come in touch with the great personality of Gotama Buddha himself, which, according to her, is far above "the monk-made Buddhism". This is important, for it is also the Mahayana point of view to think more of his personality than of the Brotherhood devoted to the so-called Buddhist speculation. Being so, the

Mahayana is very far from being Platonic or merely idealistic; those who take the Mahayana for metaphysical abstraction fail really to know what it stands for.

As I understand Buddhism, it not only teaches morality as defining human relationships but considers humanity in its broadest sense. It disciplines us to have a thorough control over our own small selves, which is equivalent to the abandonment of an ego-centred idea; it does this because it wants us to experience such religious feelings as joy, humility, and contentment, which are the outcome of spiritual regeneration. When viewed from these experiences the entire world assumes quite a different aspect from what it used to be, and this new aspect of existence presenting itself to the Mahayanist eye is technically termed Suchness (*tathatā*). The moral life therefore in Mahayana Buddhism is something that grows out of such religious experiences, and there is in it no feeling of constraint or restraint, the conscious and the unconscious work harmoniously, which is a feeling of spiritual freedom, emancipation, that is to say, of having been released from the bondage of birth and death. While realising that we are Buddhas even as human beings, we also know or feel that we are taking refuge in the great universal soul which is Buddha-nature (*buddhatā*). This is where the impersonal Dharma and the personal Dharmakāya are unified in the form of the Tathagata. This Mahayana conception of the Buddha or Tathagata is more positive than Mrs Rhys Davids's idea of "a More", and is also more personal and therefore of more effective significance.

Mahayana Buddhism as we have it to-day is the result of a steady evolution of the religious consciousness nourished in the Orient by the great experiences of so many strong Buddhist souls for so many years since its introduction to China and Japan. These souls have left records of the utmost spiritual importance in the form of literature, part of which can be viewed in the great Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripitaka edited by Drs Takakusu and Watanabe.

I regret that this short and therefore necessarily imperfect rejoinder to Mrs Rhys Davids's comment on my article does by no means justice to my conception of Mahayana Buddhism as a whole and my sincere wish is that someday I shall be allowed to give a much fuller expression in the present magazine as regards what Mahayana Buddhism really means to us people of the Orient.

SHUGAKU YAMABE

REVIEWS AND NOTES

THE BUDDHA'S GOLDEN PATH, A manual of Practical Buddhism, Based on the Teachings and Practices of the Zen Sect, but Interpreted and Adapted to Meet Modern Conditions, by Dwight Goddard. Revised Second Edition. London: Luzac & Co., 1931. 214 pp.

Mr Goddard has spent some time in Japan studying Zen and practising Zen meditation, and his desire to share the results of his study has taken form in this little book, *The Buddha's Golden Path*. We could have preferred to have kept the word "Noble" to describe the Path, for that is the epithet generally used in the Buddhist works to designate the eightfold step along the Noble Path which the Buddha outlined.

Mr Goddard divides his book into three parts. The First Adventure is devoted to Emancipation attained through restraint of Physical Desire and he takes up the eight steps, viz., Right Ideas, Right Resolution, Right Speech, Right Behaviour, Right Vocation, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness and Right Concentration, and then he uses these eight steps of the path to show how they will lead the aspirant through right Mind Control to Enlightenment and in the third part through Concentration of Spirit to Tranquillisation. There are certain dogmatic assertions made by the author and sometimes it seems as if personal views were put to the fore rather than Buddhist teachings and in some ways the thought seems to be derived more from the Hinayana view of Buddhism than from the Mahayana, yet when this is said we have little but words of praise for this effort to put Buddhist ideas in a practical way before the beginner in Buddhism who finds the scholarly translations difficult and is seeking for some practical instruction. The best chapters in the book are those of the second part devoted to Right Mindfulness, Right Concentration and Right Intuition. The chapter which seems the least Buddhist in tone and outlook is the one on Right Environment of the second part with its criticism of women. We would like to see this modified, for the author seems to have in his mind the picture only of a spiritual man hampered by a worldly-loving

wife, forgetting that this may be just as well applied to a spiritual woman who is hindered by a materialistically minded husband. To advance spiritually along the Noble Path is to divest oneself of all sex ideas and to realise that women as well as men are longing for the ideal.

We are sure that this book comes as a great help to many persons who wish for something eminently practical in their Buddhist study.

As the author says "The purpose of the Buddha's Golden Path is to enable one to attain within his deepest consciousness self-realisation and the patient acceptance of this supreme truth. To those who follow the Golden Path Buddha is refuge; Dharma is refuge; the Brotherhood of the Golden Path is refuge." We cannot but admire the earnestness of Mr Goddard's study which has enabled him to give this uplifting book to the Buddhist world. It is indeed a refuge for one who would learn in detail the necessary steps to tread the Noble Path.

ASPECTS OF MAHAYANA BUDDHISM AND ITS RELATION TO HINAYANA, by Nalinksha Dutt, with a Foreword by Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin. Luzac & Co., London, 1930. 358 pp.

The object of this work the author states is to present an exposition of the principal doctrines of Mahayana as found in the early Mahayanic treatises and to show points of agreement and difference between the doctrines of Hinayana and Mahayana.

The first chapter is meant to help the readers to have a bird's-eye view of Buddhism for about seven centuries. The doctrines dealt with in the second and subsequent chapters belong to this period, though the sources from which the information has been drawn may be later. The second chapter shows that Mahayanists regarded themselves as the true followers of Buddha, and asserted that Buddha had only one form of teaching, the Mahayana; but the Hinayanists being, according to the Mahayanists, intellectually weak, could not comprehend it thoroughly. They considered themselves far superior to the Hinayanists and adduced reasons for this superiority. The third chapter is divided into four sections. It will be found from the first section

that according to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and other Mahayana texts, the Hinayana teaching was only an expedient adopted by Buddha to suit the mental calibre of his early disciples, and that the Hinayanists were taught only Puḍgalaśūnyatā and not Dharmasūnyatā. It has been shown in the second section that the Buddha of the Hinayanists was really, according to the Mahayana view, one of his Nirmānakāyas, his two other kāyas being Sambhoga and Dharma. A review of the speculations of Trikāya in the various texts has been given in the section. The third section treats of the interpretation of Nirvāṇa. In it the conclusions drawn by scholars from the Piṭaka passages have been reviewed and the expositions of Buddhaghosa, Vasubandhu, Nāgārjuna and others have been summarised and compared. The fourth section deals with the four Truths and the Causal Law, the Paramārthasatyas of the Hinayanists. They are, however, Samvṛtisatyas to the Mahayanists, whose Paramārtha or Pariniṣpannasatya is Dharmasūnyatā or Tathatā. The fourth chapter contains an exposition of the Bodhisattva-bhūmis, showing that the first six bhūmis correspond to the four stages of spiritual progress of the Hinayanists, and that the last four bhūmis are meant exclusively for Bodhisattvas for the comprehension of Dharmasūnyatā or Dharmasamatā and the acquisition of the extraordinary powers of a Buddha. It has been shown in the fifth chapter that Mahayanists depended upon the Hinayanists for their disciplinary code, adding to it some rules and practices in conformity with their own ideals.

In the Appendix an attempt has been made to ascertain the probable time of composition of the Prajñāpāramitās.

A full review of this book will be given in the next number of *The Eastern Buddhist*.

We have also received with many thanks from Mr John Watkins, London, *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*, by G. R. S. Mead and *Meister Eckhart, II*, translated by C. de B. Evans, and from Theodor Weicher, Leipzig, *Gesetze der Weltgeschichte, Indien*, by Hartmut Piper. The review of these books will go over also to the next issue of our magazine owing to giving in this number the entire conclusion of the *Daśabhūmika*.

Owing to financial reasons, *Buddhism in England* is to change from a monthly to a bi-monthly. It would certainly be a great pity to have this admirable little magazine cease publication. It presents Buddhism in an interesting and attractive way to Western people. *The British Buddhist* has also been troubled financially, but we understand that the magazine is to continue and we are very glad to hear it.

Other Buddhist magazines which come to us are: *The Mahā Bodhi*, from Calcutta, *The Buddhist Organ* of the Young Men's Buddhist Association in Ceylon, and *Der Buddhaweg und Wir Buddhisten*, the organ of the Gemeinde um Buddha in Berlin, edited by Herr Martin Steinke. Two Annuals came to us since our own last number, *The Hawaiian Buddhist Annual* for 1931, an attractive volume bound in blue and gold, containing many articles from writers all over the world, and *The Buddhist Annual of Ceylon* filled with many articles short and long on Buddhism and illustrated with many pictures. We are glad to welcome both these magazines which help to keep the torch of Buddhism blazing for English-speaking readers. A new comer to us is *The Aryan Path* published by the Theosophy Co. of Bombay, India. This magazine is issued in the endeavour to put out the true Theosophy as given in the early message of H. P. Blavatsky. The articles are by no means entirely theosophical but have a wide range and Buddhism is frequently presented. Well-known writers both Western and Eastern are contributors.

Another new comer small but most acceptable is *The Vedanta Darpana*, or Mirror of Vedanta issued by the Vedanta Society of New York and devoted to the exposition in very short articles to the Vedanta philosophy.

We have received with thanks the following exchanges: *Message of the East*, Boston; *Vedanta Kesari*, India; *Pra-buddha Bharati*, India; *Shrine of Wisdom*, London; *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*; *Occult Review*, London; *Extrême Asie*, Saigon; *Mythic Magazine*, India; *Theosophical Quarterly*, New York; *Bulletin of Oriental Studies*, London; *Bulletin of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, India; *Journal of Religion*, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.; *The Epoch*,

Ilfracombe, England; *Rosicrusian Magazine*, Oceanside, Cal., U.S.A.; *Le Lotus Bleu*, Paris; *Le Revue Spirite*, Paris; *The Meher Message*, India; *The Liberal Catholic*, London; *The Theosophical Messenger*, Wheaton, Ill., U.S.A.; *Canadian Theosophist*, Toronto, Canada; *The Kalpaka*, Tinnevely, India; *The Vedic Magazine*, India; *The Logos*, Tübingen; *Journal of the Andha Historical Research*, Madras, India; *Journal Asiatique*, Paris; *Calamus*, Dublin, Ireland; *Inspiration*, Brookline, Mass., U.S.A.; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, India; *Il Progresso Religioso*, Rome; *Litterae Orientales*, Leipzig; *The Seer*, Carthage, Tunisie.

One of the Tun-huang MSS which found their way here to Japan has lately been placed on the Editor's desk. On examination it proves to be one of the lost MSS early in the history of Zen, for it is a collection of Shên-hui's sayings (神會語錄).

Shên-hui was one of the principal disciples of Hui-nêng* 慧能, who is generally regarded by Zen followers as the sixth patriarch of their sect in China. The Zen school which is flourishing at present in China and Japan traces its origin either to Huai-jang of Nan-yüeh, 南嶽懷讓 or to Hsing-szü of Ch'ing-yüan, 青原行思, who were the fellow-disciples of Shên-hui under the sixth patriarch. The school of Shên-hui prospered very much for a while after the passing of Hui-nêng, but Shên-hui's descendants failed to assert the spirit of the master vigorously enough, and Huai-jang and Hsing-szü who were comparatively quiescent while Shên-hui was active, grew stronger and stronger. With the disappearance of Shên-hui's school itself, his sayings probably collected by his immediate disciples, also went out of sight; at least they failed to reach us of this later date.

Professor Hu Shih 胡適, of Peking University, published in 1930 an edition of the remains of the "Sayings of Shên-hui," 神會遺集, based on the Tun-huang MS preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The work was most creditably edited by Professor Hu Shih. Compared with this

* *Hui nêng* represents the Pekingese way of pronouncing 慧能 while the Southerners have for it *Wei-lang* as we know from 黃茂林's (*wong-mow-lam*) English translation of the *Sermons of the Sixth Patriarch*. The translator's own name will be *huang-mao-lin* according to Wade's system of transliteration.

edition, the present MS before us is completer in one respect and imperfect in another. For the first missing part is greater in ours than in Hu Shih's, while ours contains more dialogues and, besides, a short history of the six patriarchs of the Zen sect in China from Bodhidharma to Hui-nêng. What is most significant is the fact that our text bears the date, "The 22nd day of the 10th month in the 8th year of Chên-yüan, T'ang", when the MS was carefully revised under the auspices of a government official who was probably a disciple of Shên-hui. This colophone definitely fixes the date of our MS, which is the thirty-second year (792) after the death of Shên-hui himself (667-760). The Editor of this magazine intends to make this newly recovered document accessible to the general public at the earliest possible opportunity.

As Hu Shih fitly remarks in his edition of Shên-hui's sayings, most of the material we have for the historical study of Zen in China belongs to the Five Dynasties, Sung, and later periods. As to the material belonging to the T'ang when the Zen began to make its fuller development after Hung-jên, the fifth patriarch, it is very poor. But recently four most important MSS bearing on the history of Zen have been unearthed from the Tun-huang cave library where they have been kept buried for more than one thousand years. It is likely that there are some more such MSS still kept away from the public sight. The four are: (1) 楞伽師資記, treating of the transmission of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, which is one of the main texts of the Zen sect; (2) 歷代法寶記, Record of the Successive Masters of the Dharma-treasure, being a history of the Zen masters from Bodhidharma down to some of the disciples of Hui-nêng; (3) 神會遺集, Dialogues of Shên-hui; and (4) 南宗頓教施法壇經, Sermons of Hui-nêng.

The Laṅkā Transmission was to be published last summer in Peking, but owing to the trouble between China and Japan, the editor of the MS who undertook the work partly through the suggestion of the Editor of the present magazine, has not been able to complete it so that the general public cannot yet have access to it, though the present writer himself has fortunately been supplied with a few advanced copies of it. The work throws much light on the early history of Zen in China.

The Record of the Dharma-treasure has been incor-

porated into the Taisho edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka by Dr J. Takakusu and Dr K. Watanabe. The position held by the author of *The Record* is in opposition to that of *The Transmission*. The latter identifies the *Laṅkāvatāra* with the teaching of the Zen school, thus taking Gunabhadra, the translator of the *Laṅkāvatāra*, for the first patriarch of Zen in China and Bodhidharma as the second who succeeded him. Against this *The Record* upholds Bodhidharma as the first Zen master in China, for a mere translator is to be distinguished from the one who taught Zen in his practical life through meditation and realisation. *The Record*, however, pays particular attention to the transmission of the patriarchal robe which is supposed to have come down from Bodhidharma. At the time of Hui-nēng and Shēn-hui, the whereabouts of the robe called out much comment among the Zen followers, and this fact is reflected even in the life of Hui-nēng as we have it in his *Platform Sermons*.

The Tun-huang MS copy of Hui-nēng's *Platform Sermons* differs a great deal from the current edition which came to take the present form in the Ming. *The Sermons* seems to have suffered a vicissitudinous fortune soon after its compilation. While it is still uncertain to tell definitely how far the hands of Shēn-hui are visible in the work—as is maintained by Professor Hu Shih, there is no doubt that Zen reached its turning point at the time of Hui-nēng. A leader of thought is generally apt to be interpreted variously by his disciples. The one thing we notice most strongly emphasised both in Shēn-hui and his master Hui-nēng is the importance of the *Vajracchedikā* where the Prajñā is given the first place in the six Pāramitās.

In the Shēn-hui MS which has come to the hands of the Editor the *Vajracchedikā* and not the *Laṅkāvatāra* is mentioned as the sutra that was given by Bodhidharma to his first disciple Hui-k'ê. Was there really a sort of rivalry between upholders of the *Vajracchedikā* and those of the *Laṅkāvatāra* at the beginning of the new era in the history of Zen? All the history so far records the *Laṅkāvatāra* to be the sutra so transmitted. As our MS is definitely dated 792, we know that in Middle T'ang the *Vajracchedikā* tradition was already asserted. Did Shēn-hui invent the tradition in order to support his partiality to the Prajñā sutras?

There is no doubt that the discovery of this new Shēn-

hui MS sheds much light on the history of Zen thought when it began to differentiate itself strongly and definitely from the older philosophical schools of Buddhism.

The hospice for foreign students of Zen Buddhism at Empukuji, Yawata, near Kyoto, will be ready in June, this year. There is room for five residents. The accommodation will be very reasonable and consequently very simple. Residents will have small separate rooms with vegetarian fare, and the opportunity to practise Zen meditation under the abbot of Empukuji. Those who wish to take up residence there should apply with full particulars to the Editors of the *Eastern Buddhist*.

The original of the portrait to Kōbō Daishi published as frontispiece to the *Eastern Buddhist*, July, 1931, is owned by Shinno-in, of Kōya-san, and it was through the kindness of Rev Gyōye Midzuhara that we were able to use it in our magazine.

THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

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EDITORS

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI

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THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

BUDDHIST, ESPECIALLY ZEN, CONTRI- BUTIONS TO JAPANESE CULTURE¹

Buddhism was introduced to Japan officially in 552 A. D., and ever since it has kept up a most intimate and vital relationship with the cultural history of the nation. In fact, every page of it records something achieved by Buddhism for the enhancement of the intellectual, the esthetic, and the spiritual life of the Japanese. This was quite natural seeing that at the time of its introduction to Japan Buddhism represented a superior civilisation. It was backed by such highly advanced cultures as Indian, Chinese, and Korean in the arts, industries, learning, and humane activities. They were then far ahead of Japan. Not only as a far-sighted statesman and a highly-endowed mind, but as a deeply-devotional soul, Prince Shōtoku (573-621), worked like a genius to create a new Japan by building Buddhist temples, writing commentaries on the Mahayana Sutras, encouraging the arts, sending students to China, establishing hospitals and universities, laying down the principles of government, etc. Buddhism, besides being a great religious system, was then the source of wisdom for every department of human activities. Those who have already visited Nara and its vicinity will fully understand what I mean by these statements.

But as I have a very limited time at my disposal I cannot describe the whole field of Buddhist contributions to the culture of the Japanese people. Let me, therefore, confine myself to what Buddhism, especially Zen Buddhism, has done towards their intellectual and artistic life—and this very briefly.

¹ This paper is based on the author's lectures delivered at the summer school of Oriental culture for foreigners in Kyoto, 1931.

1

To do this, it is necessary to understand first what kind of Buddhism it was that came over to Japan after centuries of its development on the continent.

We generally distinguish between Hinayana Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism. Historically, the Hinayana is the more primitive form of Buddhism, and the Mahayana is a later and more advanced system of it. What characterises each may most briefly be defined thus: the ideal of the Hinayana discipline is to realise Arhatship, while that of the Mahayana is Bodhisattvahood.

The Buddhist life generally aims at attaining enlightenment, technically known as "Bodhi". In this, Hinayanists as well as Mahayanists are one, but with the former there are no conscious efforts to impart the bliss of enlightenment to all other fellow-beings—if necessary, unconditionally. A Hinayanist remains satisfied if he is enlightened by his own untiring efforts. Of course he is full of missionary spirit trying to convert his pupils or people generally into his own way of thinking and feeling, that is, to make them embrace the teaching and follow the discipline of Buddhism. But all he does for others is more or less intellectual. If others fail to come up to the standard, the moral law of cause and effect follows, and if they cannot attain what they seek, they fall short of being enlightened. The Hinayanist cannot, however, help them, for each has to achieve his own salvation—this being the view held by the Hinayana school of Buddhism. The Arhat is a solitary philosopher, he is absorbed all by himself in the bliss of enlightenment. He lacks in human sympathy and all-embracing love. When he sees sufferings about him he coldly looks at them and will tell the sufferers how to contrive by their own efforts to get out of the tribulation, and this is all he does and can do for others; he cannot do anything more for them; each reaps what he sows. The Arhat or Hinayanist is an ultra-individualist.

The Mahayana ideal differs from this. The love-phase

of religious life is more emphasised here than its rationalism. In order that his fellow-beings may increase or grow stronger in their spiritual power, the Bodhisattva wishes to extend towards them whatever merit he has acquired by his moral life. Although he is morally all ready for it, he will even postpone his own enlightenment. He does this because he knows that there are yet many suffering beings whom he feels he ought to wake up to enlightenment. However strong the chain of individual karma may be, the Bodhisattva's whole-souled endeavour is to break it in pieces. For by this, he can achieve a grand scheme of universal enlightenment and the salvation of entire humankind. (In Buddhism salvation is not confined to human beings, it extends over all creation. Even animals, plants, rivers, rocks, mountains are included in the scheme of salvation, that is, in the attainment of Buddhahood.)

Bodhisattva was originally the name given to the Buddha prior to his attainment of enlightenment while he was practising the six virtues of perfection (*pāramitā*). The Mahayana places great stress upon this stage of the Buddha's life. The practising of the Paramitas means the assertion of humanity as a social being, the basic idea being that individuals cannot be perfect until society itself is made perfect. This will naturally mean that an individual becomes perfect when he loses his individuality in the all to which he belongs. By losing himself he gains something more than himself, for his perfection consists in being more than himself and not in being just what he is in himself.

The six virtues of perfection are characteristic of Mahayana Buddhism in many ways. They contain virtues commonly held up as cardinal by all religious systems, but there are some more which differentiate the Mahayana.

The six virtues are:

1. Charity (*dāna*)—This does not merely mean to give away what one has in abundance, but involves even the giving-up of one's whole being.

2. Morality (*śīla*)—The practising of all the Buddhist precepts, or all the virtuous deeds that are conducive to the moral welfare of oneself and that of others.

3. Striving (*vīrya*)—A constant application of oneself to the promotion of good. The Mahayanist's life is one of utmost strenuousness not only in this life but in the lives to come—and the lives to come may have no end.

4. Humility (*kṣānti*)—This is sometimes rendered patience, but humility is more to the point. Rather than merely enduring all sorts of ills of the flesh, it is the feeling of unworthiness, limitedness, and sinfulness.

5. Meditation (*dhyāna*)—Not in the sense of meditating on a moral maxim or a philosophical saying, but the disciplining of oneself in tranquillisation.

6. Transcendental knowledge (*prajñā*)—This is what constitutes enlightenment, it is an intuition into the ultimate truth of things, by gaining which one is released from the bondage of existence, and becomes master of one's self.

2

Let us next see on what theoretical ground Mahayana Buddhism stands. The doctrine of Non-ego (*anatta* in Pali, *anātman* in Sanskrit) is the foundation of both Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism, but the latter has developed all the implications ending finally in the dogma of the Law-body, or Dharmakāya as is better known in its Sanskrit original, for "Law-body" is liable to be wrongly interpreted.

To understand adequately the Mahayana conception of Dharmakāya requires a great deal of knowledge as regards the philosophy of Buddhism; for the Dharmakāya is one of the Triple Body and its significance is organically related to the other two Bodies called Sambhogakāya and Nirmānakāya, or Body of Enjoyment and Body of Transformation. Briefly, the Dharmakāya is the final reality making up the being of all things; this is what is popularly misconceived as an ego-substance.

Psychologically, the Dharmakāya may be regarded as the Ālayavijñāna, "all-conserving mind", of which Buddhism talks so much. The Ālayavijñāna is something akin to what may be called transcendental or universal consciousness which lies behind our ordinary relative empirical consciousnesses. The purification of this universal consciousness, where all things are conserved in their essence or in their seed-form (*bīja*)—the purification taking place through its individually manifested consciousnesses is the aim of all Buddhist discipline.

From another point of view the Ālayavijñāna is Emptiness (*śūnyatā*). If Ālayavijñāna is a psychological term, Śūnyatā is an ontological conception, or would it be better to consider it epistemologically? Because when the notion of logical relativity is to be finally transcended in order to reach something ultimate, the human intellect inevitably comes to Emptiness. So long as Emptiness is conceived relatively we cannot go beyond logic, and logic is not something in which the soul finds its abode of rest. Emptiness or the Empty must be after all our last shelter. But we must remember that Emptiness does not mean mere nothingness.

Emptiness is, however, a word greatly abused, suffering all kinds of maltreatment. Mahayana Buddhism has another term with an affirmative connotation. I mean "Suchness" or "Thusness" (*tathatā* in Sanskrit). The Mahayanists would thus describe existence to be in a state of Suchness and they insist that as it is not so perceived, the result is a state of ignorance from which follow prejudices and passions in all their possible complications. To regard existence as this or that, as being or non-being, as eternal or transient, is our thought-construction and not reality as it is in itself. It requires the highest degree of intellectual perspicuity to look into reality in its suchness and not to weave around it subjectively-constructed meshes. This is then a realm of intuitions. When we enter into this realm, we realise what Suchness really means.

All these highly philosophical ideas are difficult for many people to grasp intelligently. All those European scholars of Buddhism who are trying hard to get into its profound concepts often fail to perceive, especially the meaning of "Emptiness" and "Suchness". One of the commonest criticisms against Buddhism is that it teaches nihilism or negativism as it denies existence. Superficially this is true. Emptiness seems to be the negation of existence. But what is taught by Buddhism is to go even beyond this negation, for this is where there is really what is known as Emptiness; and when we get into this world Emptiness is grasped, as it is after all graspable though not in the relative sense. And when this is grasped, this world of particular objects is accepted in its proper signification. When a Zen master was asked, "What is the Way?", meaning the ultimate truth of Buddhism, he said, "What a fine mountain this is!" referring to the mountain where he had his retreat.

The questioner said, "I am not asking you about the mountain, but about the Way."

"As long as you cannot go beyond the mountain, you cannot reach the Way," replied the master.

Another time the same master was asked about the Way, and he said, "It lies right before your eyes."

"Why do I not see it myself?"

"You do not, because of your egoistic notion."

"If I do not, because of my egoistic notion, do you, O master?"

"So long as you have dualistic views, saying 'I don't' and 'you do' and so on, your eyes are bedimmed by this relativity view."

"When there is neither 'I' nor 'you', can one see it?"

"When there is neither 'I' nor 'you' who is it that wants to see?"

I may comment on this conclusion of the master: just because there is no one wanting to see what the Way is, this mountain is a quiet retreat for the monks, and these wild

flowers are blooming fine even if no city people come so far out to admire them.

Another criticism thrown upon Mahayana Buddhism is that it is pantheistic. When the Mahayanist sees the Buddha-nature in everything even in things inanimate, he seems to be pantheistically inclined in his philosophy. But read the following carefully and see where the whole trend of the discourse is:

A master was asked, "Is there the Buddha-nature in the dog?"

"Yes."

"In you too?"

"No, not in me."

"How is it that there is no Buddha-nature in you when all beings are endowed with one?"

"I am not one of 'all beings'."

"If you are not, are you Buddha himself?"

"I am not Buddha."

"What are you then?"

"I am not a 'what' either."

"Is it then something at all tangible or thinkable?"

"No, monk, it is altogether beyond thinkability, beyond comprehensibility. Therefore, it is called *acintya*, the unthinkable."

When we go over this dialogue carefully we will see that the Mahayanist sees something beyond individual realities, which cannot be wholly included in them, or that, according to the Mahayana, the Buddha-nature is manifested in every particular object—in the dog, in the plant, in a piece of rock, in a stream of water, in a particle of dust, in you, in me, in the ignorant, as well as in the Buddha; but at the same time it goes beyond them and cannot be grasped by our thought and imagination. This view of reality cannot be called pantheistic.

3

Tentatively, I give three means of realisation by which the Buddhists come to the Suchness-view of reality: 1. Practical, 2. Intellectual, and 3. Intuitional.

The practical method is followed by all the Buddhists; but the Shingon may explain my point more graphically. The method consists in arranging the environment in such a way as to make the mind harmoniously respond to the general atmosphere thus created; that is to say, the ear listens to a solemn air, the eye perceives the holy images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the nose smells odours reminding of a heavenly kingdom, the hands are engaged in forming secret mudras, and the mouth repeats sacred mantras of deep signification. When these arrangements are completed, the mind is naturally influenced by them, and, without realising how, becomes deeply permeated with the subtle *vāsanā* emanating from them. When this is repeated regularly for a certain space of time, the devotee may ultimately come to a realisation.

The second method of reaching the final goal of the Mahayana discipline is to appeal to the intellect. This is done by training one's self in the philosophy of the Avatamsaka school or in that of the Tendai. The Avatamsaka teaches a highly abstract system of the so-called fourfold Dharma-dhātu, while the Tendai has the contemplation of the threefold view of existence known as Emptiness, Relativity, and the Middle Way. All these are meant for a highly developed and best trained intellect. Without many years of philosophic discipline, one could not comprehend the deep spiritual meaning therein involved.

The third method appealing to our intuitive faculty is Zen. Possibly the Nembutsu is classifiable under this head. This is a direct method, for it refuses to resort to verbal explanations, or logical analysis, or to ritualism. Whatever reality there is to take hold of, Zen proposes to grasp it directly without any mediatory tools such as intellection,

imagination, accumulation of merit, etc. It straightway awakens the highest spiritual power which may be called intuition, and by this enlightenment is attained.

It goes without saying that along with all these methods of spiritual training Dhyāna (meditation so called) is practised, for without this no amount of discipline whether intellectual or intuitive or ritualistic can produce the result desired. Wherever Buddhism is put into practical use, let us therefore understand that Dhyāna is the one thing indispensable to it. Only in Zen this is more systematically exercised; in fact, the practice of Dhyāna is regarded in Zen as the means essentially in correspondence with an ultimate realisation. Historically the term "Zen" comes from "Dhyāna" (*zenna* in Japanese).

Thus, of the three methods whereby to bring about a state of enlightenment in Buddhist life, Zen has so far proved the most practical and efficient generally to the Oriental mind. And besides as it has contributed much to the appreciation of a certain artistic taste in the life of the Japanese people. I will devote the rest of my lecture to Zen and its cultural value.

The Shingon knows how to appreciate the value of form and as the result it has helped much in the creation of beautiful objects of art. The Tendai, the Kegon (*avatamsaka*), and the Yuishiki (*viññaptimātra*)—three of the intellectual wing of Mahayana Buddhism—have no doubt stimulated the growth of the ratiocinative faculty; and when Japan faced the streaming-in of the Western thoughts, she knew well how to discriminate and assimilate it according to her needs. That she took in with the proper frame of mind the invasion of modern idealism and Hegelian dialectics is no doubt due to the fact that her intellect has been under a severe training in the hands of the Buddhist philosophers.

Strangely, Zen had its share in promoting the study of the Chinese classics. If Zen did not countenance the study of Buddhist philosophy as a hindrance to the growth of the

intuitive power, it acted as a missionary for Chinese learning in general, which included poetry, history, ethics, philosophy, calligraphy, painting, etc. This is an unusual phenomenon in the history of Buddhism, that a teaching which is so against the letter, became a strong efficient agency in the preservation and encouragement of scholarship.

4

In one sense, Zen is the Chinese interpretation of the doctrine of enlightenment. When Buddhism passed through the prism of the Chinese mind, it was differentiated into many schools with Zen as one of them. But it was evidently Zen that was in the best conformity with the Chinese psychology, for of all the Buddhist schools that flourished in that land during the twenty centuries of its growth Zen is one of the two currents of Buddhist thought which have successfully survived; indeed, as far as the official name of a school is concerned, Zen is the only school of Buddhism now in existence in China; for the Pure Land Teaching has never become a separate school in China, finding its shelter in the Zen monasteries as a sort of boarding guest.

Historically, Zen no doubt started with the coming of Bodhidharma to China early in the sixth century. But, as a matter of fact, Zen, properly to be so called, dates with the appearance of Yeno (Hui-nêng, 637-713 A. D.) who was a native of Southern China. The history of Zen from Bodhidharma down to Yeno, the sixth patriarch, is told in my *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Series One.

Apart from its insistence in the all-absorbing importance of personal experience in the realisation of a final fact, Zen has the following characteristics which have exercised a great deal of moral influence in the moulding of what may be designated the spirit of the East, especially of Japan.

1. Neglect of form is generally characteristic of mysticism, Christian, or Buddhist, or Islamic. When the importance of the spirit is emphasised, all the outward expres-

sions of it naturally become things of secondary significance. Form is not necessarily despised, but attention to it is reduced to a minimum, or we may say that conventionalism is set aside and individual originality is asserted in its full strength. But because of this there is a forceful tone of inwardness perceivable in all things connected with Zen. As far as form is concerned, nothing beautiful or appealing to the senses may be observable here, but one feels something inward or spiritual asserting itself in spite of the imperfection of the form, perhaps because of this very imperfection. The reason is this: when the form is perfect, our senses are satisfied too strongly with it and the mind may at least temporarily neglect to exercise its more inner function. The efforts concentrated too greatly in the outwardness of things fail to draw out what innerism there is in them. So Tanka (Tan-hsia) burned a wooden image of Buddha to make a fire and idolatry was done away with. Kenshi (Hsien-tzū) turned into a fisherman against the conventionality of monastery life. Daitō Kokushi became a beggar and Kanzan Fokushi was a cowherd.

2. The inwardness of Zen implies the directness of its appeal to the human spirit. When the intermediary of form is dispensed with, one spirit speaks directly to another. Raise a finger and the whole universe is there. Nothing could be more direct than this in this world of relativity. The medium of communication or the symbol of self-expression is curtailed to the shortest possible term. When a syllable or a wink is enough, why spend one's entire life in writing huge books or building a grandiose cathedral?

3. Directness is thus another word for simplicity. When all the paraphernalia to express ideas are discarded, a single blade of grass suffices to stand for Buddha Vairochana sixteen feet high. Or a circle is the fullest possible symbol for the immeasurability of the truth as realised in the mind of a Zen adept. This simplicity also expresses itself in life. A humble straw-thatched mountain retreat, a

half of which is shared by white clouds, is enough for the sage. The potatoes roasted in the ashes of a cow-dung fire appease his hunger, as he casts a contemptuous look upon an envoy from the Imperial court.

4. Poverty and simplicity go hand in hand, but to be merely poor and humble is not Zen. It does not espouse poverty just for the sake of poverty. As it is sufficient with itself, it does not want much—which is poverty to others, but sufficiency to oneself. Rich and poor—this is a worldly standard; for the inwardness of Zen poverty does not always mean to be short of possessions and to be rich with the overflowing of material wealth.

5. Facts of experience are valued in Zen more than representations, symbols, and concepts, that is to say, substance is everything in Zen and form nothing. Therefore, Zen is radical empiricism. This being so, space is not something objectively extending, time is not to be considered a line stretched out as past, present, and future. Zen knows no such space, no such time, and, therefore, such ideas as eternity, infinitude, boundlessness, etc., are mere dreams to Zen. For Zen lives in facts. Facts may be considered momentary, but momentariness is an idea subjectively constructed. When Zen is compared to a flash of lightning which disappears even before you have uttered the cry "Oh!", it is not to be supposed that mere quickness is the life of Zen. But we can say that Zen eschews deliberation, elaboration. When a roof leaked, a Zen master called out to his attendants to bring in something to keep the tatami dry. Without a moment's hesitation, one of them brought in a bamboo basket, while another went around and searching for a tub took it to the master. The master was immensely pleased, it is said, with the first monk with the basket. It was he who understood the spirit of Zen better than the one who was deliberate though his wisdom proved far more practical and useful. This phase of Zen is technically known as "non-discrimination."

6. What might be designated "eternal loneliness" is found at the heart of Zen. This is a kind of sense of the absolute. In the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* we have what is known there as the "truth of solitude" (*viviktādharmā* in Sanskrit). The experience of this seems to wake the feeling of eternal loneliness. This does not mean that we all feel solitary and long forever for something larger and stronger than ourselves. This feeling is cherished more or less by all religious souls; but what I mean here is not this kind of solitariness, but the solitariness of an absolute being, which comes upon one when a world of particulars moving under the conditions of space, time, and causation is left behind, when the spirit soars high up in the sky and moves about as it lists like a floating cloud.

7. When all these aspects of Zen are confirmed, we find a certain definite attitude of Zen towards life generally. When it expresses itself in art, it constitutes what may be called the spirit of Zen estheticism. In this we shall then find simplicity, directness, abandonment, boldness, aloofness, unworldliness, innerliness, the disregarding of form, free movements of spirit, the mystic breathing of a creative genius all over the work—whether it be painting, calligraphy, gardening, tea-ceremony, fencing, dancing, or poetry.

5

* I have probably spent too much time on Zen. But as I said before, Zen, of all the schools of Mahayana Buddhism, has given great impetus to the cultivation of the arts peculiar to the Japanese, and the above delineation may help somehow to understand the spirit of this phase of Japanese culture. To illustrate, let me choose Japanese painting known as "Sumiye" and Japanese poetry called "Haiku".

Zen came to Japan in the twelfth century, and during the eight hundred years of its history it has influenced Japanese life in various ways not only in the spiritual life of the Samurai but in the artistic expressions of it by the learned.

The Sumiye which is one of such expressions is not painting in the proper sense of the word, it is a kind of sketch in black and white. The ink is made of soot and glue, and the brush of sheep's or badger's hair, and the latter is so made as to absorb or contain much of the fluid. The paper used is rather thin and will absorb much ink, standing in great contrast to the canvas used by oil painters, and this contrast means a great deal to the Sumiye artist.

The reason why such a frail material has been chosen for the vehicle of transferring an artistic inspiration is that the inspiration is to be transferred onto it in the quickest possible time. If the brush lingers too long, the paper will be torn through. The lines are to be drawn as swiftly as possible and the fewest as well in number, only the absolutely necessary ones being indicated. No deliberation is allowed, no erasing, no repetition, no retouching, no remodelling, no "doctoring," no building-up. Once executed, the strokes are indelible, irrevocable, not subject to future corrections, or improvements. Anything done afterwards is plainly and painfully visible in the result, as the paper is of such a nature. The artist must follow his inspiration as spontaneously and absolutely and instantly as it moves, he just lets his arm, his fingers, his brush be guided by it as if they were all mere instruments, together with his whole being, in the hands of somebody else, who has temporarily taken possession of him. Or we may say that the brush by itself executes the work quite outside the artist, who just lets it move on without his conscious efforts. If any logic or reflection comes between brush and paper, the whole effect is spoiled. In this way Sumiye is produced.

It is easily conceivable that the lines of Sumiye must show an infinite variety. There is no chiaroscuro, no perspective in it. Indeed, they are not needed in Sumiye which makes no pretensions to realism. It attempts to make the spirit of an object move on the paper. Thus each brush stroke must beat with the pulsation of a living being. It

must be living too. Evidently, Sumiye is governed by a set of principles quite different from those of an oil-painting. The canvas being of such strong material and oil colours permitting repeated wipings and overlayings, a picture is built up systematically after a deliberately designed plan. Grandeur of conception and strength of execution, to say nothing of its realism, are the characteristics of an oil-painting, which can be compared to a well thought-out system of philosophy, each thread of whose logic is closely knitted; or it may be likened unto a grand cathedral, whose walls, pillars, and foundations are composed of solid blocks of stone. Compared with this, a Sumiye sketch is poverty itself, poor in form, poor in contents, poor in execution, poor in material, yet we Oriental people feel the presence in it of a certain moving spirit that mysteriously hovers around the lines, dots, and shades of various formations; the rhythm of its living breath vibrates in them. A single stem of a blooming lily apparently so carelessly executed on a piece of coarse paper—yet here is vividly revealed the tender innocent spirit of a maiden sheltered from the storm of a worldly life. Again, as far as a superficial critic can see, there is not much of artistic skill and inspiration—a little insignificant boat of a fisherman at the centre of a broad expanse of waters; but as we look we cannot help being deeply impressed with the immensity of the ocean which knows no boundaries, and with the presence of a mysterious spirit breathing a life of eternity undisturbed in the midst of the undulating waves. And all these wonders are achieved with such ease and effortlessness.

If Sumiye attempts to copy an objective reality, it is an utter failure; it never does that, it is rather a creation. A dot in a Sumiye sketch does not represent a hawk, nor does a curved line symbolise Mount Fuji. The dot is the bird and the line is the mountain. If resemblance is everything with a picture, the two dimensional canvas cannot represent anything of objectivity; the colours fall far too short

of giving the original, and however faithfully a painter may try with his brushes to remind us of an object of nature as it is, the result can never do justice to it; for as far as it is an imitation, or a representation, it is a poor imitation, it is a mockery. The Sumiye artist thus reasons: why not altogether abandon such an attempt? Let us instead create living objects out of our own imagination. As long as we all belong to the same universe, our creations may show some correspondence to what we call objects of nature. But this is not an essential element of our work. The work has its own merit apart from resemblance. In each brush stroke is there not something distinctly individual? The spirit of each artist is moving there. His birds are his own creation. This is the attitude of a Sumiye painter toward his art, and I wish to state that this attitude is that of Zen towards life, and that what Zen attempts with his life the artist does with his paper, brush, and ink.

A line drawn by the Sumiye artist is final, nothing can go beyond it, nothing can retrieve it, it is just inevitable as a flash of lightning; the artist himself cannot undo it; from this issues the beauty of the line. Things are beautiful where they are inevitable, that is, when they are free exhibitions of a spirit. There is no violence here, no murdering, no twisting-about, no copying-after, but a free, unrestrained, yet self-governing display of movement—which constitutes the principle of beauty. The muscles are conscious of drawing a line, making a dot, but behind them there is an unconsciousness. By this unconsciousness nature writes out her destiny: by this unconsciousness the artist creates his work of art. A baby smiles and the whole crowd is transported, because it is genuinely inevitable coming out of the unconscious.

Another feature that distinguishes Sumiye is its attempt to catch spirit as it moves. Everything becomes, nothing is stationary in nature; when you think you have safely taken hold of it, it slips off your hands. Because the

moment you have it is no more a live one, it is dead. But Sumiye tries to catch things alive, which thus seems to be something impossible to achieve. Yes, it would indeed be an impossibility if the artist's endeavour were to represent living things on paper, but he can succeed to a certain extent when every brush stroke he makes is directly connected with his inner spirit not at all hampered by extraneous matters such as concepts, etc. In this case, his brush is his own arm extended; more than that, it is his spirit and in its every movement as it is traced on paper this spirit is felt. When this is accomplished, a Sumiye picture is a reality itself, complete in itself, and no copy of anything else. The mountains here are real in the same sense as Mt. Fuji is, so are the clouds, the stream, the trees, the waves, the figures. For the spirit of the artist is articulating through all these masses, lines, dots, and "daubs."

It is thus natural that Sumiye avoids colouring of any kind, for it reminds us of an object of nature, and Sumiye makes no claim to a reproduction, perfect or imperfect. In this respect Sumiye is like calligraphy. In calligraphy each character composed of strokes horizontal, vertical, slanting, flowing, turning upward and downward, does not necessarily indicate any definite idea, though it does not altogether ignore it as a character is primarily supposed to mean something. But as an art peculiar to the Far East where a long, pointed, soft hair brush is used for writing, each stroke made with it has a meaning apart from its functioning as a composite element of a character symbolising an idea. The brush is a yielding instrument and obeys readily every conative movement of the writer or the artist. In the strokes executed by him we can discern his spirit. This is the reason why Sumiye and calligraphy are regarded in the East as belonging to the same class of art.

That the paper is of such a fragile nature as not to allow the brush to linger too long over it, is also of great advantage for the artist to express himself with it. If the paper were

too strong and tough, deliberate designing and correction would be possible, which is, however, quite injurious to the spirit of Sumiye. The brush must run over the paper swiftly, boldly, fully, and irrevocably just like the work of creation when the universe came into being. As soon as a word comes from the mouth of the creator, it must be executed. Delay may mean alteration, which is frustration; or the will has been checked in its forward movement, it halts, it hesitates, it reflects, it reasons, and finally it changes its course—this faltering and wavering interferes with the freedom of the artistic mind.

While artificiality does not mean regularity or a symmetrical treatment of the subject and freedom irregularity, there is always an element of unexpectedness or abruptness in Sumiye. Where one expects to see a line or a mass, this is lacking, and this vacancy instead of disappointing suggests something beyond and is altogether satisfactory. A small piece of paper generally oblong, less than two feet and a half by six feet, will now include the whole universe. The horizontal stroke suggests immensity of space and a circle eternity of time,—not only their mere unlimitedness but both filled with life and movement. It is strange that the absence of a single point where it is conventionally expected should achieve this mystery, but the Sumiye artist is a past master in this trick. He does it so skilfully that no artificiality or explicit purposeness is at all discernible in his work. This life of purposelessness comes directly from Zen.

6

Having spent too much time on what is known as Sumiye and its connection with Zen, let me conclude this lecture with my little remarks on the spirit of "Eternal Loneliness." I know that my lecture is altogether inadequate to do justice to what Zen has really done in its peculiar way for the esthetic side of Japanese life. So far we can say, Zen's influence in Far Eastern painting has been general, as it is

not limited to the Japanese, and what I have described may apply equally to the Chinese. What follows, however, can be regarded as specifically Japanese, for this spirit of "Eternal Loneliness" is something known only in Japan. By this spirit, or this artistic principle if it can be so designated, I mean what is popularly known in Japan as "Sabi" or "Wabi" (or "Shibumi"). Let me say a few words about it now.

"Sabi" appears in landscape gardening and tea ceremony as well as in literature. To confine myself to literature, especially to that form of literature known as "Haiku", that is, the seventeen syllable poem. This shortest possible form of poetical expression is a special product of the Japanese genius. This made a great development in the Tokugawa era, more particularly after Bashō (1643-1694).

He was a great travelling poet, a most passionate lover of nature—a kind of nature troubadour. His life was spent in travelling from one end of Japan to another. It was fortunate that there were in those days no railways. Modern conveniences do not seem to go very well with poetry. The modern spirit of scientific analysis leaves no mystery unravelled, and poetry and Haiku do not seem to thrive where there are no mysteries. The trouble with science is that it gives no quarter to suggestion, everything is laid bare, and anything there is to be seen is exposed.

We are all made to face so-called hard facts whereby our minds are ossified; where there is no softness left with us, poetry departs; where there is vast expanse of sand, no verdant vegetation is made possible. In Bashō's day, life was not yet so prosaic and hard-pressed. One bamboo hat, one cane stick, and one cotton bag were perhaps enough for the poet to wander about, stopping in any hamlet for a while which struck his fancy and enjoying all the experiences—which were likely mostly hardships of primitive travelling. When travelling is made too easy and comfortable, its spiritual meaning is lost. This may be called sentimentalism,

but a certain sense of loneliness engendered by travelling leads one to reflect upon the meaning of life, for life is after all a travelling from one unknown to another unknown. A period of sixty, seventy, or eighty years allotted to us is meant to uncover if we can the veil of mystery. A too smooth running over this period, however short it may be, robs us of this sense of "Eternal Loneliness."

The predecessor of Bashō was Saigyō of the Kamakura period (1186-1334). He was also a traveller-monk. After quitting his official cares as warrior attached to the court, his life was devoted to travelling and poetry. He was a Buddhist monk. You must have seen the picture somewhere in your trip through Japan of a monk in his travelling suit, all alone, looking at Mt. Fuji. I forgot who the painter was, but the picture suggests many thoughts, especially in the mysterious loneliness of human life, which is, however, not the feeling of forlornness, nor the depressive sense of solitariness, but a sort of appreciation of the mystery of the absolute. The poem then composed by Saigyō runs:

"The wind-blown
Smoke of Mt. Fuji
Disappearing far beyond!
Who knows the destiny
Of my thought wandering away with it?"

Bashō was not a Buddhist monk but was a devotee of Zen. In the beginning of autumn when it begins to shower occasionally, nature is the embodiment of "Eternal Loneliness." The trees become bare, the mountains begin to assume an austere appearance, the streams are more transparent, and in the evening when the birds weary of the day's work wend their homeward way, a lone traveller grows pensive over the destiny of human life. His mood moves with that of nature. Sings Bashō:

"A traveller—
Let my name be thus known—
This autumnal shower."

We are not necessarily all ascetics, but I do not know if there is not in every one of us an eternal longing for a world beyond this of empirical relativity.

When Bashō was still studying Zen under his master Bucchō, the latter one day paid him a visit and asked, "How are you getting along these days?"

Bashō: "After a recent rain the moss has grown greener than ever."

Bucchō: "What Buddhism is there prior to the greenness of moss?"

Bashō: "A frog jumps into the water, hear the sound!"

This is said to be the beginning of a new epoch in the history of Haiku. Haiku before Bashō was a mere word-play, and lost its contact with life. Bashō questioned by his master about the ultimate truth of things which existed even prior to this world of particulars saw a frog leaping into an old pond, its sound making a break into the serenity of the whole situation. The source of life has been grasped, and the artist sitting here watches every mood of his mind as it comes in contact with a world of constant becoming, and the result is so many seventeen syllables of his bequeathed to us. Bashō was a poet of "eternal loneliness."

Another of his Haiku is:

"A branch shorn of leaves,
A crow perching on it—
This autumn eve."

Simplicity of form does not always mean triviality of content. There is a great Beyond in the lonely raven perching on a dead branch of a tree. All things come out of an unknown abyss of mystery, and through every one of them we can have a peep into the abyss. You do not have to compose a grand poem of many hundred lines to give vent to the feeling thus awakened by looking into the abyss. When a feeling reaches its highest pitch, we remain silent, because no words are adequate. Even seventeen syllables

may be too many. In any event Japanese artists more or less influenced by the way of Zen tend to use the fewest words or strokes of brush to express their feelings. When they are too fully expressed, no room for suggestions is possible, and suggestibility is the secret of the Japanese arts.

Some artists go even so far as this that in whatever way their strokes of the brush are taken by the reviewer it is immaterial, in fact that the more misunderstood the better. The strokes or masses may mean any object of nature, they may be birds, or hills, or human figures, or flowers, or what not; it is perfectly indifferent to them, they declare. This is an extreme view indeed. For if their lines, masses, and dots are judged differently by different minds, sometimes altogether unlike what they were originally intended for by the artist, what is the use at all of attempting such a picture? Perhaps the artist here wanted to add this: "If only the spirit pervading his product were perfectly perceived and appreciated." From this it is evident that the Far Eastern artists are perfectly indifferent to form. They want to indicate by their brush work something that has strongly moved them innerly. They themselves may not have known how articulately to give expression to their inner movement. They only utter a cry or flourish the brush. This may not be art, because there is no art in their doing this. Or if there is any art, that may be a very primitive one. Is this really so? However advanced we may be in "civilisation" which means artificiality, we always strive for artlessness; for it seems to be the goal and foundation of all artistic endeavours. How much art is concealed behind the apparent artlessness of Japanese art! Full of meaning and suggestibility, and yet perfect in artlessness—when in this way the spirit of "eternal loneliness" is expressed, we have the essence of Sumiye and Haiku.

nese life, especially in its esthetic aspect to such an extent as has never been attained by the other forms is due to the fact that Zen directly appeals to the facts of life instead of to concepts. The intellect is always indirect in its relation to life, it is a generalising agency, and what is general lacks in instinctive force, that is, in will-power. Zen is not solely the will, it contains a certain amount of intellection too, inasmuch as it is an intuition. Standing in contrast to the conceptualising tendency of the other schools of Buddhism, Zen's appeal to life is always more fundamental. This is the chief reason why Zen takes hold so strongly of Japanese life.

The art of fencing, to master which was one of the most absorbing occupations of the governing classes of Japan since the Kamakura era achieved a wonderful development, and so many different schools of it have been prospering until quite recently. The Kamakura Era is closely related to Zen, for it was then that as an independent school of Buddhism Zen was first introduced to Japan. So many great masters of Zen ruled the spiritual world of the time. In spite of their contempt of learning, learning was preserved in their hands. At the same time the soldiers thronged about them, eager to be taught and disciplined by them. The method of their teaching was simple and direct, not much learning in the abstruse philosophy of Buddhism was needed. The soldiers were not naturally very scholarly; what they wanted was not to be timid before death which they had constantly to face. This was a most practical problem on their part and Zen was ready to grapple with it probably because the masters dealt with the facts of life, and not concepts. They would probably say to a soldier who came to be enlightened on the question of birth and death, that "there is no birth and death here, get out of my room, as quick as you can." So saying they may chase him away with a stick they generally carry. Or if a soldier came to a master saying, "I have to go through at present with the most critical event of life,

what shall I do?" Then the master may roar, "Go straight ahead, and no looking backward." This was the way in feudal Japan the soldiers were trained by Zen masters.

Since the soldiers were constantly threatened as regards their lives, and since their swords were the only weapons that turned their fate either way to life or to death, the art of fencing developed to a wonderful degree of perfection. It is not strange then that Zen had much to do with this profession. Takuan (1573-1645), one of the greatest figures in the Zen world of the Tokugawa period, gave full instruction in Zen to his disciple, Yagiu Tajima-no-kami (died, 1646), who was fencing teacher to the Shōgun of the day. The instructions are not of course concerned with the technique of the art itself, but with the mental attitude of the fencer. To follow them intelligently must have cost a great deal of spiritual training on the part of his illustrious disciple. Another great fencing master of the Tokugawa period was Miyamoto Musashi (1582-1645), who was the founder of the school called Nitōryū. He was not only a fencer but a Sumiye artist, and as such he was equally great. His pictures are very highly valued and have "Zen flavour" so to speak. One of his famous sayings on fencing is:

"Under the sword lifted high,
There is hell making you tremble;
But go ahead,
And you have the land of bliss."

Not mere recklessness, but self-abandonment which is known in Buddhism as a state of egolessness (*anatta* in Pali or *anātman* in Sanskrit). Here is the religious significance of the art of fencing. This was the way Zen got deeply into the life of the Japanese people—the life in its various aspects, moral, practical, esthetic, and, to a certain extent, intellectual.

8

This is the gist of Takuan's Zen instruction given to Yagyū Tajima-no-kami on fencing:

“What is most important in the art of fencing is to acquire a certain mental attitude known as ‘immovable wisdom.’ This wisdom is intuitively acquired after a great deal of practical training. ‘Immovable’ does not mean to be stiff and heavy and lifeless as a rock or a piece of wood. It means the highest degree of motility with a centre which remains immovable. The mind then reaches the highest point of alacrity ready to direct its attention anywhere it is needed—to the left, to the right, to all the directions as required. When your attention is engaged and arrested by the striking sword of the enemy, you lose the first opportunity of making the next move by yourself. You tarry, you think, and while this deliberation goes on, your opponent is ready to strike you down. The thing is not to give him such a chance. You just follow the movement of the sword in the hands of the enemy, leaving your mind free to make its own counter-movement without your interfering deliberation. You move as the opponent moves, and it will result in his own defeat.

“This—what may be termed the ‘non-interfering’ attitude of mind—constitutes the most vital element in the art of fencing as well as in Zen. If there is any room left even for the breadth of a hair between two actions, this is interruption. When the hands are clapped, the sound issues without a moment’s deliberation. The sound does not wait and think before it issues. There is no mediacy here, one movement follows another without being interrupted by one’s conscious mind. If you are troubled and cogitate what to do, seeing the opponent about to strike you down, you give him room, that is, a happy chance for his deadly blow. Let your defence follow the attack without a moment’s interruption, and there will be no two separate movements to be known as attack and defence. This immediateness of action on your part will inevitably end in the opponent’s self-defeat. It is like a boat smoothly gliding down the rapids; in Zen, and in fencing as well, a mind of no-hesitation, no-interruption, no-mediacy, is highly valued.

"So much reference is made in Zen to a flash of lightning or to sparks issuing from the impact of two flint-stones. If this is understood in the sense of quickness, a grievous mistake is committed. The idea is to show immediateness of action, an uninterrupted movement of life-energy. Whenever room is left for interruption from a quarter not at all in vital relation with the occasion, you are sure to lose your own position. This of course does not mean to desire to do things rashly or in the quickest possible time. If there were this desire in you, its very presence would be an interruption. When it is asked, 'What is the ultimate reality of Buddhism?' the master answers without a moment's delay. 'A branch of plum-blossom,' or 'The cypress tree in the court-yard.' There is something immovable within, which, however, moves along spontaneously with things presenting themselves before it. The mirror of wisdom reflects them instantaneously one after another, keeping itself intact and undisturbed. The fencer must cultivate this."

A life of non-interruption here described as necessary to the mastery of fencing is the life of effortlessness (*anābhogacaryā*), which is the essence of Bodhisattvahood. Artistically, this is the art of artlessness. The Confucians would say, "What does heaven say? What does the earth say? But the seasons come and go and all things grow." The Laotsūans would paradoxically declare, "Benevolence and righteousness are products of human artificiality when the highest truth no more prevails in its own way." Or, "It is the principle of non-action that makes all things move." Or "Just because the axle moves not, the spokes revolve." All these remarks tend to show that the centre of life-gravity remains immovable and that when this is successfully taken hold of, all the life activities, whether artistic or poetic or religious or dramatic, whether in a life of quietude and learning, or in one of intense action, a state of self-realisation obtains, which expresses itself in a most exquisite manner in the life and acts of the person.

To conclude: the spirit of eternal loneliness (*vivikta-dharma*) which is the spirit of Zen expresses itself under the name of "Sabi" in the various artistic departments of life such as landscape gardening, tea ceremony, tea-room, painting, flower arrangement, dressing, furniture, in the mode of living, in *nō*-dancing, poetry, etc. The spirit comprises such elements as simplicity, naturalness, unconventionality, refinement, freedom, familiarity singularly tinged with aloofness, and everyday commonness which is veiled exquisitely with the mist of transcendental innerliness.

For illustration, let me describe a tea-room in one of the temples attached to Daitokuji, the Zen temple which is the headquarters of the tea-ceremony. Where a series of flag-stones irregularly arranged comes to a stop, there stands a most insignificant-looking straw-thatched hut, low and unpretentious to the last degree. The entrance is not by a door but a sort of aperture; to enter through it a visitor has to be shorn of all his encumbrances, that is to say, to take off both his swords long and short, which in the feudal days a samurai used to carry about him all the time. The inside is a small darkish room about ten feet square, the ceiling is low and of uneven height and structure. The posts are not smoothly planed, they are mostly of natural wood. After a little while, however, the room grows gradually lighter as our eyes begin to adjust themselves to the new situation. We notice an ancient-looking *kakemono* in the alcove with some handwriting or a picture of *Sumiye*. An incense-burner emits a smoke of fragrance which singularly has the effect of soothing one's nerves. The flower-vase does not contain more than a single stem of flower, not at all gorgeous or ostentatious; but like a little white lily blooming under a rock surrounded by the sombre pines, the humble flower is enhanced in beauty and attracts the attention of the entire gathering of visitors, four or five especially invited to sip a cup of tea, in order to forget all the worldly cares that may be oppressing them.

Now we listen to the sound of boiling water in the kettle resting on a tripodal frame which is kept over a fire in the square hole cut in the floor. The sound is not that of actually boiling water but comes from the heavy iron kettle, and it is most appropriately likened by the connoisseur to a breeze that passes through the pine grove. It greatly adds to the serenity of the room, for a man here feels as if he were sitting alone in a mountain-hut where a white cloud and the pine music are his only consoling companions.

To take a cup of tea in this environment with friends, talking probably about the Sumiye sketch in the alcove or some art topics suggested by the tea-utensils in the room, wonderfully lifts the mind above the perplexities of life. The warrior is saved from his daily occupation to fight, and the businessman from his ever-present idea of money-making. Is it not something, indeed, to find in this world of struggles and vanities a corner, however humble, where one can rise above the limits of relativity and have even a glimpse of eternity?

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

TRIYANA VERSUS EKAYANA, OR THE THREE VEHICLES IN CONFLICT WITH THE ONE VEHICLE

The Hossō philosophy signifies a turning point in the history of Buddhist thought. Though being a Chinese school, the Hossō School stands, like the Sanron School, on the shoulders of an Indian school and therefore cannot be regarded as purely Chinese like the Tendai and Kegon Schools.¹ Though also it regards its own teaching quite naturally as the only true teaching, and therefore of a higher order than that of the so-called Pure Mahāyāna Schools, it cannot be denied, that from the point of view of the development of Buddhist thought, the Hossō School, like the Sanron School, represents a form of preliminary Mahāyāna teaching. This Indian provenance and this preliminary character are the reason why the Hossō School is generally considered as

¹ The *Hossō School*—meaning the School which teaches the 'Form of the Dharmas (i.e. Phenomena)'—founded by Hsüan-chuang (or Genjō Sanzō, as called by the Japanese), is the Chinese form of the Indian Vijñāna or Yogācārya School, established by Asanga and Vasubandhu in the 4th or 5th century A.D. Genjō Sanzō lived from 601-664 A.D.

The *Sanron School*—meaning the School of the 'Three Śāstras (i.e. philosophical treatises)'—founded by Kiehizō or Kajō Daishi (as called by the Japanese), is the Chinese form of the Indian Madhyamika School, whose establishment is ascribed to Nāgārjuna, who may have lived in the 2nd century A.D. Kajō Daishi lived from 549-623 A.D.

The *Tendai School*—meaning the School of the Tientai Mountains in Chekiang—is based on the Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra or Hokke Kyō and was established, or rather systematized, by Chiki (or Chishu Daishi, as called by the Japanese), who lived from 531-597 A.D. and was its 3rd patriarch.

The *Kegon School*—meaning the School of the Kegon Gyō or Avatamsaka Sūtra—is based on this text and was established or rather systematized by Hōzō or Genju Daishi (as called by the Japanese), who lived from 642-712 A.D. and was its 5th patriarch.

an earlier school, to which a place before the Tendai School and the Kegon School is assigned.

As a matter of fact, however, the Hossō School represents a reaction not only against the so-called 'nihilism' of the Sanron School, but also against the identity-teaching of the Higher Mahāyāna Schools, especially that of the Kegon School,—a quite deliberate return to a 'rationalism' from a 'transcendentalism,' regarded as vague and unsatisfactory. When we consider the antagonism in China between Genjō Sanzō (Hsüan-chuang), the founder of Hossō, and Genju Daishi (Fa-tsang), the great Kegon patriarch, and when we remember the vehemence of the controversy which, still in the ninth century, in distant Japan, was waged between the Hossō sect and the newly arisen Tendai sect, we can clearly see that the Hossō School considered itself vastly superior to the so-called Higher Mahāyānism and objected not only to the transcendentalism of the Kegon School, but also to that of the Tendai School.

The Tendai School, teaching a pantheistic realism, says that 'all dharmas have true form' (*sho hō jissō*), which means to say that all phenomena have absolute reality. The Kegon School, teaching a pantheistic idealism, acknowledges the universality of the mind, that is a panpsychism which considers all phenomena as the absolute mind itself. The Hossō School does not deny the existence of an absolute entity; however, it makes of it the mere shadowy and dim background of the world-theatre and does not allow it to take any active part in the performance. What is acting on the stage are the impersonifications of the individual human mind, which alone is acknowledged as really existing and as the only source, from which all phenomena emanate. To the Kegon axiom '*yui shin*' or 'the mind only' (i.e. the universal mind only) exists, the Hossō School opposes its principle of '*yui shiki*' or 'the consciousness only' (i.e. the individual consciousness only) exists. Thus to a transcendental panpsychism it opposes a subjective psychologism, taking great

pains in analysing it into its minutest details, by distinguishing eight kinds of consciousness (*shiki* or *vijñāna*), by demonstrating the 'seeds' (*bīja*) stored up in the highest of these consciousnesses (*shiki* No. 8 or *ālaya vijñāna*) and by mapping out a phenomenology of mental order that is indeed one of the most ingenious systems of Buddhist philosophy.

However, it is not our intention to enter here into the high-ways and by-ways of the Hossō philosophy. Also we do not propose to compare in detail this philosophy with the Tendai philosophy on the one side and with the Kegon philosophy on the other. Our present essay has a more general scope, intending to make a comparison of the most fundamental points of the Hossō teaching with those of Pure Mahāyāna Buddhism, that is, with the views that are held in common by Tendai as well as by Kegon, or by the two Mahāyāna Schools whose metaphysics are most developed. We shall resume in the briefest possible way the arguments which fundamentally divide the Hossō School from the Pure Mahāyāna Schools, hoping that even by such short outline the inner thought of these schools will be understood much clearer.

The Hossō School is a Three Vehicle School (*Triyāna, San Jō*), acknowledging three means of salvation for the Arhat, the Pratyekabuddha, and the Bodhisattva; the schools of transcendental Mahāyānism are schools of the One Vehicle (*Ekayāna, Ichi Jō*), acknowledging the only Buddha Vehicle. From the standpoint of the Hossō School the Three Vehicles are true (*jitsu*) and the One Vehicle is temporal (*gon*) and a mere artifice (*hōben*), while from the standpoint of the Higher Mahāyāna Schools the One Vehicle is true and the Three Vehicles are mere artifice. The Hossō School teaches moreover the origin of the universe from the subjective *ālaya vijñāna*, the separation of the Noumenon from the Phenomena, and the differentiation of human beings into five classes. The schools of transcendental Mahāyāna, on the contrary, teach the origin of

the universe from the absolute substance itself, the fundamental oneness of the Noumenon and the Phenomena, and the essential sameness of human nature. This means to say that the Hossō School teaches, that the differences of human beings and the differences of the various dharmas (i.e. thoughts) are real; while the Higher Mahāyāna teaches, that these differences are only temporal,—all human beings and all dharmas being in their essence absolute and originally one and the same.

The Hossō School teaches the Middle Path. But it is the middle path of non-existence and non-emptiness, which steers between these two extremes, without neutralizing them. The Middle Path of the Higher Mahāyāna Schools—the so-called 'True Middle Path'—does away with these two extremes, by identifying them. The Hossō School says that the middle is neither existence nor emptiness; the Higher Mahāyāna Schools say that it is existence as well as emptiness. The Middle Path of Hossō is that of comparison and combination; the Middle Path of the Higher Mahāyāna Schools is that of identification. The one is the outcome of the principle of difference; the other the outcome of the principle of sameness.

We can also express it in this way, viz. that the Hossō School teaches the form (*sō*) of the dharmas; the transcendental Mahāyāna Schools teach the nature (*shō*), i.e. essence of the dharmas; the one being a 'School of Form' (*sō shū*), dealing with the Phenomena, the others a 'School of Nature' (*shō shū*), dealing with the Noumenon. Therefore the distinction between the rationalist Hossō School and the transcendental Kegon and Tendai Schools resumes itself into a distinction between the Three Vehicles and the One Vehicle, or between the Buddhism of Form and the Buddhism of Nature, i.e. between Phenomenal Mahāyānism and Noumenal Mahāyānism. As the Hossō School teaches the seeds (*shū ji*) of the dharmas, we might also describe the difference between this school and the Higher Mahāyāna

Schools to be a difference between the 'Seed School' (*shū shū*) and the 'Nature School' (*shō shū*).¹

These contrasts are, so to speak, patent. But if we enter still deeper into the teaching of these two most fundamental types of Mahāyāna Buddhism, we can construct the following differences between the One Vehicle and the Triple Vehicle:²

1

The *One Vehicle* teaches that human beings possess only one nature and that all become Buddha (*issō kai jō*).

The *Triple Vehicle* teaches that human beings possess five natures and are individually different (*go shō kaku betsu*).³

¹ These two terms were already used as contrasting terms in the Śāstras, but among modern scholars they were first employed by Prof. Tokiwa, from whose book *Basshō no Kenkyū* ('Investigation on Buddha Nature') we have condensed the following description.

² The term 'Triple Vehicle' denotes the Hossō School only by excluding the Sauron School. Though the Sauron School is commonly also classified as a Three Vehicle School, it is, in regard to the problem of Buddha-nature, to be reckoned among the One Vehicle Schools. The Triple Vehicle means here and in the following the 'Seed School' (*shū shū*), while the One Vehicle means the 'Nature School' (*shō shū*),—these being the terms used by Prof. Tokiwa.

³ A fundamental Hossō doctrine says that all human beings are to be divided into Five Classes, namely people having:

1. Srāvaka nature—*Shōmon shō*—Srāvakayānābhisamaya-gotraḥ.
2. Pratyekabuddha nature—*Engaku shō*—Pratyekabuddhayānābhisamaya-gotraḥ.
3. Bodhisattva nature—*Bosatsu shō*—Tathāgatayānābhisamaya-gotraḥ.
4. Undetermined nature—*fu jō shō*—Aniyata-gotraḥ.
5. No nature after all (i.e. complete absence of nature)—*hikkyō mu shō*—Agotrakaḥ.

No. 1. can gain no higher 'fruit' (i.e. effect) than that of an Arhat. No. 2. no higher 'fruit' than that of a Pratyekabuddha. Class No. 3. attains Buddhahood. Those belonging to class 4. can become either Arhat, or Pratyekabuddha, or Buddha, according to the degrees of their practice. The 5th class is barred from all grades of real enlightenment, not being favoured with 'entering into the path of salvation,' and their highest attainment consists therefore in being reborn in one of the deva-heavens or as human beings; those belonging to this last

2

The *One Vehicle* teaches that all living creatures without exception possess Buddha-nature (*issai shu jō shitsu u busshō*).

The *Triple Vehicle* teaches that a part of the living creatures does not possess Buddha-nature (*ichi bun mu shō*).

3

The *One Vehicle* understands the Buddha-nature which is possessed by all, to be the Buddha-nature of reason (*ri busshō*), and as being identical with True Likeness (*shin nyō*).

The *Triple Vehicle* understands the Buddha-nature which is not possessed by all, to be the Buddha-nature of practice (*gyō busshō*), and as being identical with the originally-possessed pure seeds (*honnu mu ro shū ji*).

4

The *One Vehicle* holds that the so-called beings who have no Buddha-nature (*mu shō u jō*) are the people who have no indirect causes by which their innate reason-nature of True Likeness (*shin nyō ri shō*), which is the direct cause of salvation, can be brought into appearance. So the non-possession of Buddha-nature—from the point of view of the *One Vehicle*—depends merely upon the non-possession of class can never leave the three worlds, but must remain for ever in the stream of transmigration.—Thus we see that this doctrine of Five Natures reserves the privilege of gaining Buddhahood to the selected few of Bodhisattva-nature, i.e. to the 3rd class and to a part of the 4th class.

The Five Natures, as taught by the Kegon School, are not as many varieties of living beings, but five steps of spiritual progress—five different 'dwelling positions' (*jū i*)—of one and the same being. The '*go shō*'—theory of Kegon could therefore be affirmed along with its '*isshō kai jō*'—theory, as it is essentially different from the '*go shō*'—theory of Hossō. For the Hossō School the five natures are differences of seeds and have a priori causes; for the Kegon School they have a posteriori causes.

the indirect causes (*mu en*). Through a higher degree of religious practice these indirect causes will however be supplied and the latent Buddha-nature will reveal itself.

Thus in the One Vehicle teaching the so-called *Ichchantika* or people who, for the time being, are excluded from salvation, are called '*mu en no shu jō*,' i.e. 'people who have no indirect cause,' namely no religious practice. However, it would be wrong to call them '*mu in no shu jō*,' i.e. 'people who have no direct cause, namely no Buddha-nature which is considered to be changeable as well as unchangeable.

The *Triple Vehicle* holds that the beings who have no Buddha-nature are the people who have no direct cause of salvation, namely no *a priori* pure seeds (*honnu mu ro shū ji*) and will for ever be deprived of such seeds. This non-possession of any direct causes (*mu in*) excludes them for ever from salvation, and even the highest degree of religious practice would be of no avail to them.

Thus in the Three Vehicle teaching the *Ichchantika* or people who for ever are excluded from salvation, are called '*mu in no shu jō*,' i.e. 'people who have no direct cause,' namely no original pure seeds. However, it would be wrong to call them '*mu en no shu jō*,' i.e. 'people who have no indirect cause,' namely no True Likeness of Reason-Nature which is considered to be entirely static and unchangeable.

5

The *One Vehicle* takes the absolute nature itself, that is, the universal True Likeness, as the foundation for religious practice.

The *Triple Vehicle* takes the *a priori* pure seeds as the foundation for religious practice.

6

The *One Vehicle* connects a twofold meaning with the Absolute (*shin nyo*), namely that of unchangeableness (*fu hen*) and that of dependent origination (*zui en*). This

means that the Absolute itself never changes, yet nevertheless produces the whole universe, involving innumerable changes. The One Vehicle consequently considers that ālaya vijñāna (*araya shiki*) possesses the two meanings of enlightenment (*kaku*) and non-enlightenment (*fu kaku*). Shin nyo and araya shiki, from the point of view of the One Vehicle, are therefore in the relationship of 'not one' and 'not different,' i.e. their relation is monistic.

The *Triple Vehicle* considers shin nyo as an entirely transcendent entity (*mu i hō* or *asaṃskṛita dharma*), being without any impurities (*mu ro*), and unchangeable, while it considers araya shiki as a phenomenal entity (*u i hō* or *saṃskṛita dharma*) containing impurities (*u ro*), and being changeable. Shin nyo and araya shiki, from the point of view of the Triple Vehicle, are therefore quite different, i.e. their relation is dualistic.

7

The *One Vehicle* acknowledges that impurity (*u ro*) can change into purity (*mu ro*), namely that the impure araya shiki can be transformed into a pure araya shiki, or that the effect of the pure mind can be brought out from an impure mind. This conviction lies at the bottom of the One Vehicle theory, that there is 'no necessity to cut away the nature of evil' (*shō aku fu dan*).

The *Triple Vehicle* does not acknowledge that impure seeds (*u ro shū ji*) can be transformed into pure seeds (*mu ro shū ji*), but that a change can only be performed by cutting away or destroying the impure seeds by the power of the pure seeds, namely by replacing impure seeds by pure seeds. The axiom of the Triple Vehicle 'by changing vijñāna one attains wisdom' (*ten jiki toku chi*)¹ is to be understood in this meaning. Therefore whoever does not possess pure seeds, can never give birth to the effect of purity.

¹ That is to say, the 'great perfect mirror-wisdom' (*dai en kyō*)

8

The *One Vehicle* considers the harmonization of the objective reason (*ri*) and of the subjective wisdom (*chi*) as its goal, and this harmonization is reached by the transformation of the impure vijñāna into a pure vijñāna,—the final harmony between *ri* and *chi* being represented by amāla vijñāna, the *ninth* consciousness.

The *Triple Vehicle* places the 'right wisdom' (*shō chi*) and 'True Likeness' or 'Suchness' (*nyo nyo*) for ever into opposition, so that the Absolute or 'Suchness' remains always the object for the 'right wisdom,' and there is no possibility of unifying this subjective wisdom with the objective truth.

If we look for *similarities between the One Vehicle and the Triple Vehicle*, we can find them in the two following facts:

1. Both recognize that the Reason-Nature of True Likeness (*ri shō shin nyo*) is universal to all living creatures, or that all living creatures possess the Buddha-Nature of Absolute Reason (*ri busshō*).

2. Both recognize that religious practice is needed in order to become Buddha.

Regarding the first similarity, the reader will remember that, from the point of view of the Triple Vehicle, even such people who have no original pure seeds, and who are therefore for ever excluded from salvation, i.e. the *icchantika*, are nevertheless in possession of the True Likeness of Reason Nature, which however is considered to be entirely static and unchangeable. Of course the other two classes of beings, which according to the Hossō teaching cannot become Buddhas, also possess this True Likeness of Reason Nature. Thus the axiom of the Triple Vehicle, i.e. of Hossō, that a part of the living beings does not possess Buddha-nature, really means to say that a part of the living beings does not possess (*chi*), by which the innermost nature of all beings is seen face to face.

such Buddha-nature that will enable them to become Buddhas.

From the point of view of Ekayāna, the possession of Buddha-nature necessarily implies the ultimate attainment of actual Buddhahood, and the expression: 'creatures that have no Buddha-nature' becomes synonymous with the expression: 'creatures that can never become Buddha.' The real existence of such creatures is acknowledged by Hossō only; for the Ekayāna they are merely hypothetical. However, the Ekayāna use of the term gained currency value in the discussions on the Hossō philosophy, perverting in some way the Hossō-axiom.

Consequently, if it is stated here, that both the One Vehicle and the Triple Vehicle recognize that all living creatures possess the Buddha-Nature of Absolute Reason (*ri busshō*), the whole emphasis is placed on the expression 'absolute reason' (*ri*). The One Vehicle and the Triple Vehicle are in accord, that all creatures possess a Buddha-nature considered as an entirely abstract entity; but they *disagree fundamentally* in regard to the general possession of a Buddha-nature, that is considered as an absolute dynamic power.

In regard to the other similarity between the One Vehicle and the Triple Vehicle the following observation must be made: assuredly, both recognize that religious practice is needed, in order to become Buddha. However, by the fact that the One Vehicle applies this practice to the absolute substance of True Likeness, considering it as the direct cause of salvation, while the Triple Vehicle applies its practice to the a priori pure seeds, considering them as the direct cause of salvation, and True Likeness only as the indirect cause, we may conclude that these two 'houses' or schools of Buddhism are also here *fundamentally in discord*. All other differences follow from these two differences that appear outwardly as similarities.

Prof. Tokiwa, whose views we have resumed and partly

interpreted here, is however not satisfied with merely pointing out the differences and similarities of the One Vehicle and the Triple Vehicle. He is at pains to evaluate their strong points and their weak points, and proposes the creation of a new and perfect Buddhist system of metaphysics, by eliminating the weak points of the 'Nature School' as well as of the 'Seed School,' and by harmonizing their good points.

The *good points of the One Vehicle*, as understood by Prof. Tokiwa, are:

1. The One Vehicle makes the universe originate from the Absolute (*shin nyo* or *bhūtatahatā*), and 2. consequently acknowledges the existence of the power of enlightenment inside the subjective consciousness (*ālaya vijñāna*). Hereby the One Vehicle identifies the ideal world with the real world.

The *weak points of the One Vehicle* as he sees them, are:

1. Its vague and conflicting interpretations of 'Buddha-nature' (*bussō*).

By taking its stand on the world beyond, where objective truth (*ri*) and subjective wisdom (*chi*) are harmonized, all people are considered actually to possess Buddha-nature (or to be Buddhas). But the world beyond is the world of the absolute wisdom, or the world of effect (*kwa*), while the problem of Buddha-nature belongs to the sphere of subjective consciousness (*shiki*) in the world of cause (*in*). The One Vehicle fails to make a sharp distinction between cause and effect.

It deepened and widened the meaning of 'Buddha-nature' by identifying it with the 'womb of the Buddha' (*nyorai zō* or *tathāgatagarbha*). At the same time, however, it thereby became a term of various colours, since we can distinguish at least three meanings of 'Nyorai zō':

First may we consider it as synonymous with '*shin nyo*' (True Likeness) or '*nyo nyo*' (Likeness-Likeness) or '*hok-kai*' (Dharma-world),—each of these three terms being above comparison, as each includes all purity and impurity. Hence

arises the idea that *nyorai zō* is the fundamental origin of birth and death (*shō ji* or transmigration—*saṃsāra*) as well as of Nirvāṇa (*nehan*). The view that *Nyorai zō* is the fundamental origin of Nirvāṇa leads to the second meaning given to this term, namely that of '*ji shō shō jō shin*,' i.e. the absolute pure mind, or 'hosshin' (*dharmakāya*), while the view that *Nyorai zō* is the fundamental origin of birth and death leads to the third meaning given to this term, namely that it is identical with 'sin' (*bonnō*) or with 'all common people' (*shu jō, sattva*).

According to the first interpretation the Buddha-nature is a combination of purity and impurity; according to the second view it is all purity; according to the third it is all impurity. Among these various meanings, attributed to the term 'Buddha-nature,' it is indeed difficult to discover the real meaning.

2. Its vague views on 'ignorance' (*mu myō*—mental darkness or *avidyā*).

The One Vehicle neither explains the origin of ignorance which is inherent in its system, nor the relation between ignorance and the Absolute (between *mu myō* and *shin nyo*, between *avidyā* and *bhūtatahatā*). The One Vehicle considers this origin and this relation merely as 'beyond our comprehension' (*fu shigi*, a term which corresponds to the Sanskrit *acintya* or *acitta*, meaning: beyond the realm of mentation, beyond understanding, inconceivable or mysterious). *Mu myō* is said to be 'without beginning' (*mu shi*), and the influence of *Mu myō* upon *Shin nyo* is described as an 'incomprehensible perfuming' (*fu shigi kun*). Similarly the origination of the universe from the unchangeable Absolute (*fu hen shin nyo*) is called an 'incomprehensible change' (*fu shigi hen*).

The *Triple Vehicle* wishes to escape from this vagueness of the One Vehicle, and that is considered by Prof. Tokiwa as the *good point* of this school. It makes a clear distinction between the Phenomenal and the Absolute (*u i* and *mu i, saṃ-*

skṛita and *asaṃskṛita*), between impurity and purity (*u ro* and *mu ro*), between the world of cause (*in*) and the world of effect (*kwa*). It endeavours not to lower the absolute True Likeness to the level of the phenomenal world and confines the explanation of this actual world to the activities of the subjective mind (*ālaya vijñāna*). It makes of the impure *ālaya vijñāna*—the store-house consciousness furnished with unclean seeds—the fundamental origin of all phenomena, and has no need to recur to a special *mu myō*- or *avidyā*-entity, in order to explain the origin of all phenomena. While *mu myō*, in the One Vehicle schools, is a great mystery, whose origin cannot possibly be explained, it is for the Triple Vehicle simply the result of the activity of *vijñāna* No. 7, which mistakes the 'seeing part' (*kem bun*) of *vijñāna* No. 8 for an ego and thereby gives rise to all false conceptions.

The world-view of the Triple Vehicle, as resumed above, may be called sober and rational, as it always seeks for positive causes. Even in the logical construction of this system however there is a *weak point*, namely the doctrine that 'the originally-possessed pure seeds depend on, and are attached to, *ālaya vijñāna*.' One theory is that the originally-pure seeds depend on, and are attached to, the 'form part' (*sō bun*) of *ālaya-vijñāna*; another theory is that they depend on, and are attached to, the 'self substance part' (*ji tai bun*) of *ālaya vijñāna*.

They are considered 'to depend on and to be attached to' *ālaya vijñāna*, because, being originally pure, they could not be possessed by, or included in, an *ālaya vijñāna* of impure nature. What then is the precise difference between the conception of 'depending on and being attached to,' and the other of 'being possessed by' or 'included in'? Again if there be a clear difference, how can a priori pure seeds (*asaṃskṛita*) depend on and be attached to an impure phenomenal (*saṃskṛita*) entity? The Hossō scholars do not give any satisfactory answer to this question. They fail to make

clear how a priori pure bijas can be the driving power of phenomenal ālaya vijñāna of impure nature. Here a discrepancy arises which weakens the sober rationalism of the Yui Shiki system, as it introduces an incongruent supernatural element into its phenomenology.

These weak points of the Triple Vehicle, as well as of the One Vehicle, Prof. Tokiwa proposes to eliminate.

The *One Vehicle* ought accordingly to descend a step from its pinnacle of True Likeness (*shin nyō*) or Womb of the Absolute (*nyorai zō*) and to base its theory of universal Buddha-nature directly on ālaya vijñāna.

The *Triple Vehicle*, in order to get rid of its weak points, ought to select one of the two following ways: either it must acknowledge that from impure seeds (*u ro shū ji*) there can arise pure dharmas (*mu ro hō*), which would clear the way for an ālaya vijñāna of truly uniform character, having no need for any a priori pure seeds, in order to be purified. Or, a second way of purging the Hossō teaching from its weaknesses would be the change of its doctrine regarding the originally-possessed pure seeds (*hon nu mu ro shū ji*), by developing it from an '*ichi bun e fu*' theory (a theory which maintains, that only a part of the people possess the originally-pure seeds, depending on, and being attached to, ālaya vijñāna) into a '*zem bun e fu*' theory (a theory which contends that all people possess the originally-pure seeds, depending on and being attached to, ālaya vijñāna).

In this way the *One Vehicle* teaching and the *Triple Vehicle* teaching would be brought into line and *harmony between the two* established.

The common ground on which, according to Tokiwa, the teachings of both 'houses' could meet, is the ālaya vijñāna theory of the 'Shō Dai Jō Ron' and of the 'Ki Shin Ron.' The 'Shō Dai Jō Ron'—or 'Mahāyāna Saṃparigraha Sāstra,' by Asanga, which is a Hossō authority—understands ālaya vijñāna to be a connexion of impure parts (*zem ma bun*) and pure parts (*shō jō bun*). The 'Ki Shin Ron'—

or 'Mahāyāna Śraddhopāda Śāstra,' attributed rightly or wrongly to Aśvaghosha, a great authority for all Pure Mahāyāna Schools—understands ālaya vijñāna as possessing the two meanings of enlightenment (*kaku*) and non-enlightenment (*fu kaku* or *mu myō*). Though the point of departure of the one śāstra is the idea of impurity, and that of the other the idea of enlightenment, they meet in the conception of ālaya vijñāna, regarding which the views of the two texts are similar.

"I think"—concludes Tokiwa—"that our real form (*jissō*) is shown best by these theories, i.e. of 'Shō Dai Jō Ron' and 'Ki Shin Ron.' If the Three Vehicle House would adopt the idea of enlightenment (*kaku*) from the One Vehicle House, and if the One Vehicle House would adopt the idea of impurity (*zen ma*) from the Three Vehicle House, then the Buddha-nature theory of the Buddhist teaching of the past would reach the most developed formulation." Though this connexion of the One Vehicle House and the Three Vehicle House, on the basis of the ālaya vijñāna teaching of the 'Shō Dai Jō Ron' and the 'Ki Shin Ron,' may outwardly appear a return to Buddhist origins, when Buddhism was not yet divided into Triyāna and Ekayāna Schools, yet it would, according to Tokiwa, really mean a new development, namely the establishment of an ideal and perfect Buddha-nature theory, whereby Buddhist metaphysics would be placed on a new and solid foundation, combining the strongest points of the Triyāna and Ekayāna teachings.

This résumé of the noted Japanese scholar's views will be found helpful to a proper understanding of the distinctions which separate the Hossō teaching from that of the Higher Mahāyāna Schools. At the same time the reader may by it be enabled to grasp the deeper thoughts underlying the Ekayāna. Nevertheless we wish to make it clear that we cannot accept the learned author's views in regard to the bearing of his proposed changes, and that we feel

rather sceptical concerning the *possibility of harmonizing the Triple Vehicle and the One Vehicle.*

The author says: "By adopting '*zēm bun e fu setsu*' (i.e. the theory of original pure seeds depending on and adhering to the ālaya vijñāna of all people) instead of '*ichī bun e fu setsu*' (i.e. the theory of original pure seeds depending on and adhering to the ālaya vijñāna of a part of the people), Yui Shiki (i.e. the philosophy of Hossō) will really come to accept the 'nature of understanding' (*ge shō*) inside ālaya vijñāna, namely it will acknowledge the 'pure part' (*jō bun*) of ālaya vijñāna, and the meaning of 'enlightenment' (*kaku*) inside ālaya vijñāna; and by such slight adjustments the fundamental theory of Yui Shiki will not come to grief in any way and will not be affected even to the slightest degree."—To us these adjustments seem, on the contrary, so far-reaching in their bearing, that they amount to a complete revolution of the Hossō teaching. Hossō, adjusted in this way, would indeed be no longer Hossō.

The learned author again says that the theory of five natures especially, so characteristic of the Hossō philosophy, would not be obliterated by his proposed adjustments. But how can the theory of Five Natures be harmonized with the theory of One Nature? How can the principle of Difference be harmonized with the principle of Sameness? The only truly philosophical solution to this problem, in the history of Buddhism, has been offered by the teaching of Identity of the Tendai and Kegon Schools, to which however Tokiwa objects, as it confuses the world of cause and the world of effect.

This transcendental philosophy of Tendai and Kegon does not seem to have been taken fully into consideration by the learned author in his estimate of the One Vehicle. He does not thrash out the pros and cons which might be evinced in regard to the metaphysics of these two schools,—a very painful process indeed, but through which one has to go,

before the theoretical foundations of a new and perfect Buddhism can be established. Tokiwa contents himself with eliminating, in a casual manner, what he considers the weak points of Triyāna and Ekayāna, and combines their good points.

Can we however, by such a procedure, really get a new philosophy? Or would we not ultimately be faced by an artificial and illogical construction only? Combining the good points of Triyāna and Ekayāna can mean anything or nothing. Only by isolating each of the many metaphysical problems of Buddhism, by discussing them critically, and by comparing the conflicting answers given by the various schools to each problem, can we discover without failing into contradictions, if such a combination is possible.

Tokiwa objects to the avowal of incomprehensibility of some fundamental theorems advanced by the One Vehicle House. But is it possible to make everything comprehensible? Is not the open avowal of incomprehensibility a proof rather of the sincerity of the One Vehicle teaching? Tokiwa objects also to the introduction of supernatural elements into the teaching of the Three Vehicles. Yet is it possible to reject such supernatural elements from any philosophical system which is not averse to religion? If the Hossō philosophy admits them, is it not simply accepting the inevitable, because of its teaching being not only a philosophical, but also a religious one? Both weaknesses to which Tokiwa objects, seem to us unavoidable, and inherent in any system which desires to explain eternal truths by the reasoning of the human mind, and any efforts to eradicate such weaknesses seem to us futile and destined to deceive him who attempts them.

By adopting the 'Shō Dai Jō Ron' and the 'Ki Shin Ron' as the basis, the problem of impurity and enlightenment and their relation to purity and unenlightenment is certainly not brought nearer its solution. Or is the relation between *mu myō* and *ālaya vijñāna* in the 'Ki Shin Ron'

teaching not quite as incomprehensible as the relation between *mu myō* and *shin nyo* in the so-called One Vehicle teaching? And cannot the same be said of the relation between purity and *ālaya vijñāna* in the 'Shō Dai Jō Ron' teaching, as compared with the other Three Vehicle teaching? The 'Shō Dai Jō Ron' and the 'Ki Shin Ron' consider *ālaya vijñāna* as a variety of *shin nyo*, i.e. an a priori substance of absolute purity and enlightenment, involving as an element of tension another contradictory element, namely impurity and unenlightenment, which however does not in the least depreciate the unity and absoluteness of the a priori substance. This axiom is perhaps the most incomprehensible among all metaphysical axioms advanced by the various Buddhist schools, and therefore the least likely to give general satisfaction.

Moreover we cannot possibly lay the foundation of a new Buddhism by paying attention only to the theoretical schools and ignoring the practical schools. By practical schools we understand those of the Zen sect and Japanese Buddhism as it has developed since the Kamakura Era, i.e. the Nembutsu and Nichiren Sects. This Buddhism has deliberately turned away from philosophy, expecting all from intuition, belief or prayer. Thus would it appear that the Buddhism of that country which may be regarded as representative of the most advanced and vigorous Buddhism, i.e. Japan, considers theory of little worth, though it includes a fair number of Buddhist scholars who are engaged in the noble work of research in Buddhist philosophy.

At any rate, before laying the new foundation of Buddhist metaphysics, we have to consider the relationship of Buddhist theory to Buddhist practice, and to answer the question, how any fundamental change in the theory may react on its practice. A metaphysical foundation which does not agree with the practical stand of the above-mentioned schools would certainly not be to their liking.

BRUNO PETZOLD

CEREMONIES FOR LAY DISCIPLES AT KŌYA-SAN¹

At Kōya San, the headquarters of the Shingon Sect, there is a Shingon Ritsu (Vinaya) temple where certain ceremonies take place which are available both to priests and laymen. This temple is Endzūritsuji popularly called Shim-bessho, the head of which, Rev. Keiho Tamayama, is noted for his strict and austere life, his learning and his kindness. These ceremonies comprise the Bosatsukai, the Sanzenbutsumyō, and the Ango. When the Sanzenbutsumyō (Homage to the Three Thousand Buddhas) is given, it serves as an introduction to the Bosatsukai, in which case it takes place in the morning and the Bosatsukai in the afternoon. The Bosatsukai is often given without the Sanzenbutsumyō.

The Sanzenbutsumyō ritual consists of the calling aloud by the priest of the names and their dharanis of Three Hundred Buddhas representing the Three Thousand Buddhas. As each name is called, the participants in the ceremony repeat the name of the Buddha and make a low bow on their hands and knees. A full text of this ritual will be given in a future number of the *Eastern Buddhist*. All these ceremonies are held in the Śākyamuni Hall of Shim-bessho.

I. BOSATSUKAI (BODHISATTVA-ŚĪLA),² THE CEREMONY OF TAKING THE BODHISATTVA'S PRECEPTS

The participants of the ceremony are:

¹ As these ceremonies are given at other temples, slight variations in the text are to be found. This translation follows the text as in use at Kōya-san. I wish to thank Rev. Shōken Akizuki of Kōya-san for his help in making this translation.

² There are two kinds of Bosatsukai given in the Shingon Sect: 1. According to the rules of the *Bonnogyō* and originated by Kobo Daishi, 2. According to the *Zenkaikyō* popular in Nara before Kobo.

Wajō, the abbot;

Kyōju, a priest representing the Bodhisattva Maitreya;

Komashi, a priest representing the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī;

Shōmyō, priests acting as witnesses;

Jusha, the candidates for receiving the Precepts.

The Precepts are received by the Jusha from Wajō, the Kyōju assists him, the Komashi transmits, and the priests are witnesses. When all are seated before the altar, facing the statue or picture of Śākyamuni, the Wajō invokes the help of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and makes a declaration of the purpose of the ceremony as follows:

The purpose of Śākyamuni our founder in coming here to this world and attaining enlightenment was to teach and guide sentient beings. If anyone has faith in his teaching, then he is first instructed in the Precepts. A week after the Buddha's enlightenment he taught the *Kegongyō* (*Avataṃsaka sūtra*), the first part of which is called the *Bonnogyō* (*Brahmajāla sūtra*), which states that all sentient beings must observe the Buddha's Precepts. He who is instructed in the Precepts can then join the order of all the Buddhas and be called a son of the Buddha. After living eighty years the Buddha preached *Nehangyō* (*Nirvāṇa sūtra*), which teaches that if a being wishes to realise his Buddhahood and attain Parinirvana, he must practise the holy Precepts with all his heart.

When the time of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa approached, in the quiet midnight, he taught the *Yuikyōgyō* ("the teaching of the Precepts"), which states that if there are no holy Precepts all goodness and merit cannot exist. If a being observes these Precepts he can perfect all the meditations and the wisdom of Nirvāṇa. So we see that the Buddha told us of the importance of the Precepts both at the beginning and at the end of his life. Buddha taught at various places and he preached differently according to the scene and the understanding of his hearers as we can see by reading the

different sutras spoken by him. But in respect to these Precepts there is no difference in regard to place and time.

In the Precepts we find the teaching of the Buddha as spoken by himself without the addition of anything by Bodhisattvas and Śrāvakas, which are found in other sutras. After the Buddha tried for forty years to improve the minds of his followers, he preached the *Hokkekyō* (*Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, "Lotus Gospel"), in which he was able to perfect his real purpose in coming to this world. Sharihotsu (Śāriputra) could understand it; that day he became a real son of the Buddha. The Buddha was pleased and remarked that his most cherished wish was satisfied. The real purpose of the Buddha in coming to this world is to teach these Precepts. Although sentient beings have Buddhahood (latently), it cannot be realised by them on account of their delusions and ignorance. To realise true Buddhahood is to keep the Precepts.

There are two ways to receive the Precepts, the general and the special; the former is for all collectively, but the latter is to one alone of the special spiritual ranks. If the Precepts are taught to all then Sanjusokai is given as we find at the beginning of the Bosatsukai and it is the same for laymen as for great Bhikkhus. But if the candidate has not yet taken refuge in the Triple Jewel he must do so first. There are four kinds of Triple Jewel, *ittai*, *ritai*, *kesō*, and *juji*. The main purpose for taking refuge in the four kinds of Jewel is to observe these Precepts and to obtain the Dharma of wisdom and the Sangha of the three activities, i.e., the uniformity of the activities.

To observe the Precepts one must take refuge in the Triple Jewel¹ of *ittai* and of *ritai* and then his behaviour becomes like the wise.²

¹ The Triple Jewel (Triratna) is the Refuge formula:

I take my refuge in the Buddha.

I take my refuge in the Dharma (Teaching).

I take my refuge in the Sangha (Order).

² In *ittai* we can see the three aspects of Buddhism in one. In

The object of practising the Precepts is to stop sufferings and troubles among sentient beings and to encourage them to have faith in the Truth. The formula of taking refuge in this way is expressed thus:

1. Not to do evil;
2. To seek enlightenment;
3. To do good to others.

The mind which is ready to stop bad actions and to practise good toward others comes from the self-consciousness of being one with Buddha and beings and the resolution to save all sentient beings. The real saving is to make all sentient beings realise their own nature, i.e. Buddhahood. When we realise the truth that all sentient beings have Buddhahood, we cannot be satisfied to leave them in the miserable state of unenlightenment. Unenlightened beings transmigrate in the ocean of birth and death, through delusion committing bad actions. There must be an intimate relation between them and ourselves, so we can look upon all men as our father and all women as our mother—which indeed they must have been in former existences. How then can we help but lead them out of their lives of illusion and make them realise their Buddhahood?

The Śrāvaka and the Pratyekabuddha can perfectly realise the two forms: "Not to do evil" and "To seek enlightenment"; but the third formula of the refuge most characteristic of the Mahayana Bodhisattva, "To have a compassionate heart to others," cannot be so well realised by them.

There must be mutual help between great compassion

ritai we can see the three activities in Shinnyo (*tathatā*) apportioned to the Triple Jewel: in *kesō* we see the three Bodies (*kāya*) of the Buddha; the six Pāramitās represent the Dharma and wise persons the Sangha. In *juji* we see Buddha's image remaining after his Nirvāṇa, then the sutras are the Dharma and the present believers are the Sangha. All the sayings of Buddha can be included in the Precepts (*śīla*), meditation (*dhyaṇa*) and Wisdom (*prajñā*), the Precepts coming first.

and great wisdom. On account of their wisdom, Bodhisattvas are free from delusions in their worldly life, while because of their compassion they do not desire Nirvāṇa for themselves, and they vow not to enter Nirvāṇa until all other beings have realised Buddhahood. In the mind of the Bodhisattva there is no distinction between himself and others.

The ultimate state of Bodhicitta (the desire for enlightenment) is to try not to let anyone remain in an unenlightened state through the help of the Bodhisattva's two great minds, i.e. seeking the realisation of their enlightenment and seeking the salvation of others. Buddha's mind is great compassion and this is the essence of all the Tathagatas.

The receiver of the Precepts must make the vows fully conscious of this great mind of compassion. Enlightenment and compassion are really one, but what is more fundamental is compassion; therefore you who vow to observe the Precepts ought to exercise yourselves in the practice of a great compassionate heart.

Now comes the taking of the Three Refuges as follows:

1. I (mentioning the candidate's own name) in this bodily existence to the end of future time, take refuge in Buddha, the most honoured of all men.

2. I take refuge in the most honoured Dharma, which is free from desires.

3. I take refuge in the Brotherhood most honoured of all beings.

(These refuges are repeated three times.)

Then the Jusha (candidate for the Precepts) says, After this, I take Buddha as my teacher and I will not take anyone else for a teacher. I only pray, O Triple Jewel, compassionately accept me.

Here incense is offered by the Jusha who bows three times.

The Jusha now expresses the formula of Awakening Bodhicitta:

As I have awakened the desire for enlightenment, I wish to benefit all beings and I vow to practise the Six Pāramitās¹ for the sake of attaining realisation. All the Bodhisattva and the Brotherhood will be my witnesses and help me to attain final realisation and to benefit all sentient beings. O worthy priests, listen to me!

The Kyōju asks the Wajō to give the Precepts. The Jusha burns incense and bows three times.

The Jusha says: I wish to have the Precepts given by you. On account of your compassionate heart, you will not regard this as a trouble.

The Wajō answers: Yes, I will give the Precepts. I am, however, only a transmitter, and the real giver of the Precepts is Śākyamuni himself, and his presence will be asked together with four other holy ones, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, and other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the ten directions."

The Wajō burns incense and the Jusha bows three times.

Wajō: You ask Śākyamuni to be your Wajō.

The Jusha repeats after the Wajō: I (giving own name) ask the fully enlightened Śākyamuni to be my Wajō at this Bosatsukai. I can receive the Bosatsukai and depend upon him on account of his great compassion.

Wajō: Now ask Mañjuśrī to be your Komashi (transmitter).

Jusha: Now I am going to receive the Bosatsu Precepts and Mañjuśrī is asked to be my transmitter. Out of compassion, out of compassion, out of compassion. (Bows.)

Majō: Now invite Maitreya.

Jusha: Now I ask Maitreya to come here as Kyōju (helper). Out of compassion, out of compassion, out of compassion. (Bows.)

Wajō: Now invite all the Buddhas as Shōmyō (witnesses).

¹ They are:—dāna (giving), śīla (morality), kṣānti (forbearance, patience), vīrya (energy), dhyāna (meditation), prajñā (wisdom).

² The Ten Directions are, North, South, East, West, North-East, North-West, South-East, South-West, Up and Down.

Jusha: I ask all the Buddhas in the ten directions to come here as witnesses. Out of compassion, out of compassion, out of compassion. (Bows.)

Wajō: Now invite the Bodhisattvas.

Jusha: I ask all the Bodhisattvas to come here as companions. Out of compassion, out of compassion, out of compassion. (Bows.)

Wajō: We have asked the five unseen teachers to be here, with their great compassion. Śākyamuni becomes your Wajō while Mañjuśrī and Maitreya standing on each side certify to the determination of your religious mind, and the Bodhisattvas of all the ten directions are also present. Now before these teachers confess your sins from the beginning of time, purify your body, so it may become a suitable vessel for the Precepts. Although pure in your nature, you transmigrate on account of your delusion, and for this reason you are called an unenlightened being. When you can return to your real nature giving up the false, then you can be a Buddha. Since the moon of the real nature has been covered with the dirt of delusion, the differences come out in the three worlds and many births take place. The sins committed by greed, anger, and ignorance cannot be enumerated, but we can destroy those sins which you confess and repent with all your heart, so make an earnest confession.

Jusha (repeats after the Wajō): All the evil things which I have committed in my past lives were done out of ignorance and I ask to be cleansed of these sins and impurities. They are all due to greed, anger, and ignorance which I have cherished since ancient times, and they have been practised through my body, speech, and mind. Now, without exception, I make full confession of them and repent of them resolving not to commit them after this to the end of future time.

Wajō: To what family do you belong?

The Jusha answers.

Have you committed any of the seven sins?

The Jusha answers.

Wajō: O Triple Jewel be witness with your confession and cause your sins to depart.

Wajō: Are you now a Bodhisattva fit to receive the Precepts?

Jusha: Yes.

Wajō: Have you awakened the desire for enlightenment (*bodhicitta*)?

Jusha: Yes.

Wajō: The Precepts consist of three forms. The first are the Precepts of morality which destroy evil conduct belonging to the Brotherhood; the second are the Precepts regarding general morality; and the third are those which promote benevolence toward all beings. All these Precepts are intended to destroy all that is evil and to bestow benefits to all. The first reveals the Dharmakāya, the second the Sambhogakāya, and the third the perfect Nirmānakāya. When you practise these Precepts, the result will be the perfection of the Three Bodies (*trikāya*).¹

These Precepts have been observed by all Bodhisattvas of the past, and Bodhisattvas of the present are observing them, and Bodhisattvas of the future will observe them, and now you are also asked to do so until the end of all your lives. Will you indeed observe the Precepts?

Jusha: I will.

Wajō: The first vow has now been made. With all your heart, do you vow to keep the Precepts?

Jusha: I do.

Wajō: The second vow has been made. Accomplish now the endless efficacy of the Precepts by making the vow for the third time. You can accomplish it when you declare your vow to abide by the Precepts. At every moment of your practice you will improve until you can come to the

¹ Trikāya, the three bodies of the Buddha: Dharmakāya, the final reality, Sambhogakāya, enjoyment, and Nirmānakāya, form.

Buddha's state of mind. Listen to me and accomplish it. Again, do you vow to keep the Precepts?

Jusha: I do.

Wajō: I ask all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and priests to witness this ceremony now taking place at this temple.

This is a rare event to receive these Precepts from the Buddha. Thinking of this holy opportunity you must redouble your efforts to carry out your resolutions. When such an event as this took place in the time of the Buddha all other spiritual worlds were aware of it. In the same way this present happy event is sure to have response in other worlds, and all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas will give you spiritual power to observe the Precepts.

Now I give the Precepts to you. They are:

1. Not to kill any living thing wilfully throughout all your lives. Will you observe this Precept?

Jusha: I will.

2. Not to steal throughout all your lives. Will you observe this Precept?

Jusha: I will.

Wajō: Not to commit adultery throughout all your lives. Will you observe this Precept?

Jusha: I will.

Wajō: Not to lie throughout all your lives. Will you observe this Precept?

Jusha: I will.

Wajō: Not to sell spirituous liquors throughout all your lives. Will you observe this Precept?

Jusha: I will.

Wajō: Not to praise yourself or to blame others throughout all your lives. Will you observe this Precept?

Jusha: I will.

Wajō: Not to grudge giving to others as for example your possessions, time, and teaching others, throughout all your lives. Will you observe this Precept?

Jusha: I will.

Wajō: Not to get angry in either speech or action throughout all your lives. Will you observe this Precept?

Jusha: I will.

Wajō: Not to desecrate the Triple Jewel throughout all your lives. Will you observe this Precept?

Jusha: I will.

Wajō: These are the ten most important Precepts and you must observe them at all cost until the end of future time. There are other Precepts which you should strive to practise. They are:

1. Do not despise your teacher;
2. Do not drink wine;
3. Do not eat meat, because a Bodhisattva is to save sentient beings not to destroy them;
4. Not to eat the five strong vegetables of the onion family;
5. Not to commit incendiarism;
6. Not to use ornaments and perfumes and visit places of amusement;
7. Not to sleep on luxurious beds;
8. Not to eat after noon time.

Will you strive to practise these Precepts also?

Jusha: I will.

Now the Wajō speaks and the Jusha repeats after him.

Now I have received the Precepts with all the merits accruing from their observance. I wish to turn this merit so that it may be distributed among all beings. If they have not befreed themselves, let them be befreed. If they have not obtained enjoyment in the Dharma, let them enjoy it. If they have not awakened the thought of enjoyment, let them awaken it. If they have not destroyed evil thoughts and promoted good deeds, let them do so now. If they have not become Buddhas, let them quickly attain to Buddhahood. All these merits I wish to extend all over the world and after my death together with all beings I wish to be born in that

Buddha land, where, listening to the Dharma, I may come to the realisation of it, and obtaining great spiritual power go over all the worlds in the ten quarters, listening all the time to the Mahayana doctrines as preached by all the Buddhas. Again, with the merit obtained in receiving the Precepts, I wish that all beings from this time forth may be released from this body of transmigration and released from this inferior body which suffers all kinds of bondage and infirmity and become great spiritual teachers for all beings. I wish that if any beings hear my name they will awaken in themselves a heart for enlightenment, and that if any beings see my body, they will cease from evil and devote themselves to good. I wish that those who listen to my name will obtain great wisdom and those who know my mind will at once attain to the path of Buddhahood.

I pray that this merit will extend everywhere so that not only we, but all other beings may attain to the path of Buddhahood.

I turn this merit to the universe and to the highest Truth. (The bell is struck.)

I call the name of Śākyamuni. (The bell is struck.)

I call upon the Kuyōjōdharani. (The bell is struck.)

I revere the Eternal Triple Jewel and all other Jewels. (The bell is struck.)

I take refuge in Mahavairocana. (The bell is struck.)

I wish that the flowers, incense, and lights offered by me at this ceremony today may be eternal offerings to the Triple Jewel and that I and all others may attain equally to the Highest Enlightenment. (Bell.)

Wajō: I call upon the name of Śākyamuni, upon the title of the *Bommokyō* (*Brahmajāla sūtra*), upon the name of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and upon the Dharani called Kuyōjō (Pure Offering) bowing to the Triple Jewel which abides forever. I bow to the Triple Jewel in all quarters, I bow to Vairocana Buddha and to Śākyamuni Buddha. I offer the incense, the flowers, the candle lights to the Triple

Jewel which extends indefinitely, which lasts indefinitely throughout all our lives; and let everyone, myself, and others attain to enlightenment that realises the very highest.

The Wajō bows three times to the Buddha, to the witnesses; then all bow and leave the Hall.

In connection with the Bosatsukai, the Vows of Bodhi are given as found in the (*Bodhicaryāvatāra*) by Santideva (See Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Article on Bodhisattva).

1. The sin accumulated in my former existences, accumulated in all creatures, is infinite and omnipotent. By what power can it be conquered if not by the thought of Bodhi, by the desire to become Buddha for the salvation of men? This totally disinterested desire is infinitely sacred. It covers a multitude of sins. It assures happiness during the round of existences. It is a pledge of the supreme happiness of the Buddhas for one's self and one's neighbour. All honour to the Buddhas whom everybody quite naturally loves and who have as their sole aim the salvation of men!

2. I worship the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas in view of undertaking the vow of Bodhi (*vandana*). Possessing nothing, by reason of my sins, how can I render unto them the worship (*pūjā*) which is their due? I beg them to accept this whole universe which I offer them in thought. But I am wrong. I do possess something, I give myself unreservedly, by pure affection, to the Buddhas and to their sons, the divine Bodhisattvas. I am their slave and, as such, have no more danger to fear. Of all dangers the greatest is that which comes from my sins. I know how harmful these sins are, I deplore them, I acknowledge them. I see and you see them as they are, pardon them!

3. But enough of myself. Let me belong entirely to the Buddhas and to creatures. I rejoice in the good actions, which among ordinary men for a time prevent evil re-births. I rejoice in the deliverance gained by the arhats. I delight

in the state of Buddha and Bodhisattva, possessed by the Protector of the world (*punṣyānumodanā*). I entreat the Buddhas to preach the Law for the salvation of the world (*adhyeṣanā*). I entreat them to delay their entrance into Nirvāṇa (*yācanā*). All the merits acquired by my worship of the Buddhas, my taking of refuge, my confession of sins etc., I apply to the good of creatures and to the attainment of the Bodhi. I wish to be bread for those who are hungry, drink for those who are thirsty (*pariṇāmana*). I give myself all that I am and shall be in my future existences to creatures (*ātmaabhavaparityaga*). In the same dispositions as those in which the former Buddhas were when they undertook the vow of Bodhi, and just as they carried out the obligations of future Buddhas, practising in their order the perfect virtues in these dispositions, I conceive the thought of Bodhi for the salvation of the world, so also I shall practise in their order my obligations (*cittotpāda*, or vow, *praṇidhi*).

Now one is a seed of Buddha.

The Ritual consists of

1. Daily confession of sins with its preliminaries of adoration and worship;
2. Acquiescence or rejoicing in good; and
3. Prayer with a view to securing the preaching of the Law and delaying the entrance of the saints into Nirvāṇa.

The application of merits and the vow complete the ritual.

II. THE ANGO CEREMONY

This ceremony takes place on or near the sixteenth of July. It is primarily for the benefit of priests, but earnest laymen and laywomen approved by the abbot, are permitted to take part in it.

The line of participants forms and the priests and lay disciples walk around the chapel and then kneel at the door. The bell strikes and the participants chant the following:

Now we overcome the evil influences of Mara,¹
 And all delusions are dispelled;
 Hearing the bell strike on this open ground
 Monks come together.
 Anyone wishing to hear the doctrine
 And to pass over the ocean of birth and death,
 On hearing the fine sound of the bell,
 Come here like a cloud to attend this meeting.
 (The bell strikes.)

All enter the chapel and kneel facing the altar on which stands the statue of Śākyamuni. The abbot is sitting in his chair within the inner circle.

Chanting:

As we have observed the Precepts, we are pure like
 the full moon;
 Our bodily actions and our speech are pure without
 blemish.
 All present are harmonious and friendly,
 So we can take part in this ceremony together.
 (The bell strikes.)

Three young priests rise and place vessels of hot and cold water before the altar; the first priest washes and wipes his hands and the others do the same.

Chanting:

The holy water of eight merits¹ purifies from all
 defilements;
 As we wash our hands, our minds become pure,
 Observing all the precepts without fail,

¹ The Evil One.

¹ The Eight Good Qualities received by laymen who take the Precepts according to the Jūzenkaikyō are:

1. Not to enter Hell;
2. Not to become a Gaki (Hungry Ghost);
3. Not to become an animal;
4. Not to become an Asura (Fighting Demon);
5. Always to be born into the human world and to hear the doctrine;
6. To be born in the Kamadhatu Heaven;
7. To be born in the Brahma Heaven, asking Buddha to preach the Law;
8. To obtain Enlightenment.

We hope that all sentient beings will be saved.

While the chanting goes on, the three young priests pass among the congregation carrying a pitcher and pour a little cold water over their hands and pass a towel for drying them, and then the same process is done with hot water while the chanting continues.

Now as we have washed in hot water and all defilements are removed;

Our Dharmakāya is perfected and also the five virtues.¹

The Wisdom of Prajñā² comes to us in its full activity and our emancipation is complete.

All sentient beings share in this and there is absolute communication throughout the Dharmadhātu.³

The abbot tells the reasons for the ceremony that it contributes merit to the Emperor, teachers, and parents; blesses the participants; gives freedom from evil karma; and states that all sentient beings in the universe can be born in Buddha's land and obtain Buddhahood.

The three priests take up two boxes containing small sticks.

Chanting:

The Bodhisattvas and holy priests

And unenlightened beings are harmonious:

As we purify these sticks with fragrant water

We wish to save all beings through the merit of this ceremony.

¹ The five virtues to be obtained by a Bodhisattva abiding in Samādhi are:

1. To be re-born into a good existence;
2. To be re-born into a noble family;
3. To be re-born with excellent sense organs;
4. To be re-born as a male;
5. To be re-born with the remembrance of past lives.

² Prajñā-Wisdom.

³ Dharmadhātu (Hōkai) sometimes means Shinnyo (Truth, Substance) and sometimes it refers to all things and beings in the universe. In this case, it refers to the latter.

The chief attendant priest with two others come to all the participants to present them with the sticks which are received on their folded hands. While they are being received all are kneeling and the following is chanted:

The stick is the symbol of the Vajra¹ which is hard
as the diamond, free and emancipated.

It is difficult to meet and receive it,
But now we, as well as all sentient beings, can have
it to our great happiness,
And all other sentient beings join us.

The sticks one after the other are returned to the boxes.

Chanting:

Having become purified, we receive the stick;
Having perfected purity, we return the stick.
Without any transgression we cherish gladness of
heart and impartiality firmly,
And we wish that all other beings may do likewise.
As we become pure like the full moon,
We attend this ceremony with pure minds,
And all our actions of body and speech become pure
too.

All who are present here can participate in this
ceremony.

The chief attendant priest approaches the Abbot and asks him to teach the Precepts to all. The Abbot rises in preparation. The attendant priests throw flowers before the altar.

Chanting:

Throwing flowers and arranging ornaments the
light shines clear;
Scattering holy flowers in all the ten directions they
become a curtain.

Hymn by the Vice-abbot:

So we make offering to all the Tathagatas
We bow down to all the Buddhas

¹ Vajra means hard and brilliant like a diamond, used as a symbol for hardness. It also means a religious object (Tibetan, *dorje*) which is used by a priest in ceremony, especially in the Shingon sect.

To the Dharma and the Sangha.

We explain the Precepts taught by Buddha

In this way, we make the right Dharma remain in
the world forever.

Upali¹ remains at the head and the others are witnesses;

Now we explain the most important meaning of the
Precepts,

And all wise men listen to it.

Incense is offered.

The incense from morality together with Meditation
and Emancipation,

And also the light of wisdom like clouds invade our
entire universe.

All are offered to the Buddhas of the ten directions.²

And everyone who sees and hears are so affected
that they may attain Nirvāṇa.

The Vice-abbot chants:

We live in the world but with our thoughts as broad
as the sky.

We are like the lotus flower which rises from the
dirty water, but is never stained.

Far purer than the lotus, we can rise above everything.

We offer our respect to the highest one.

Chanting by all:

The first happiness is that the Buddha came to this
world;

The second is that we can attain peace by hearing
the Truth and practising it;

The third is that all members are harmonious and
free from disturbance;

The last is that all sentient beings get rid of pain
and enjoy peace and happiness.

We take refuge in Śākyamuni Buddha,

We take refuge in Daishi Henjō Kongō.³

¹ Upali: one of the Buddha's disciples.

² The Ten Directions are, North, South, East, West, North-East, North-West, South-East, South-West, Up and Down.

³ Daishi Henjō Kongō is a name for Kōbō Daishi. Daishi = great

(The last two lines are recited three times.)

We take refuge in the Buddha and wish that all other sentient beings may awaken their thought to the highest truth, in order to realise the great Way. (All bow.)

We take refuge in the Dharma and desire that all other beings will do so also, that they may enter into the treasury of the Sutra and have as deep knowledge as the ocean. (All bow.)

We take refuge in the Sangha and wish that all other sentient beings will do the same, and we hope for harmony among all the participants of this ceremony with no hindrances whatever. (All bow.)

The participants in the ceremony face each other, two by two, kneeling and one recites:

We are able to perform Ango in this place;
We do not cause suffering to rise, but should it do
so we shall expel it;

If anyone is sick, we shall nurse him,
We are provided with medicine and have sufficient
food and drink.

And Kōya is settled as our domicile.
With great earnestness on the sixteenth day of July,
We priests perform this ceremony of Ango.

People everywhere will be our helpers,
And one will be appointed as our manager.

And another as nurse for the sick
Whatever is to be done in the way of repairs will
be duly executed,

I shall remain in this place all the summer.

The second participant answers: O Bikya. (It is so.)

The first one responds: Sadho. (Well done.)

Then the second participant kneeling with folded hands,
recites:

Listen, holy monks now performing this ceremony,
I also perform it

teacher, Henjō = Universal Illumination, Kongō = Hard like the diamond.

On this day, I ask you to tell of all things seen, heard and doubted to all the attendants, especially the elder ones.

May all these attendants and elder ones have compassion upon me and show me what wrong I have done and so pity and benefit me. You having compassion upon me, let me repent.

Tell me, what you have observed of me as the precepts require.

The first participant answers: O Bikya.

The second participant replies: Sadho.

All bow before the Buddha and then walking with folded hands encircle the inside of the Chapel, offering incense before the Buddha and leave the Hall.

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI

IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES

VII. NANZENJI

There are several Zen temples in Kyoto, belonging to the Rinzai School of Zen, and Nanzenji is one of the most important. It stands in the North-Eastern part of the city in a fine grove of old pine trees, on a slope of one of the hills of Higashiyama. Nanzenji is not what it was, for a series of fires has destroyed many of its fine buildings. But enough is left to give an idea of what it must have been when at the height of its prosperity and power.

Originally a Tendai temple stood upon this site, but the Emperor Kameyama charmed with the picturesque surroundings erected a palace here to provide for his retirement which took place in 1274 A.D.

It is said that when the Emperor first came to reside at this place, a report was spread that the place was haunted. The abbot of Saidaiji of Nara was called to exorcise the ghosts. But although he did his best with prayers, exhortations and the reading of sutras, it was of no avail; the ghosts continued to walk as before. Then Fumon, the Abbot of Tōfukuji, who was noted for his holy life was invited to try. He came with twenty followers and sat quietly in meditation within the precincts of the palace. From that time on the palace was quiet. The Emperor was so pleased that he gave the lower part of the palace to Fumon for a temple, but he himself continued to reside in the upper portion which is now called Nanzen In, the residence of the present Abbot. Fumon was noted not only for his holy life but his great strength of character and wide spread influence. The poem which the Emperor wrote upon his death gives a hint of the character and the personality of this great priest. It reads:

"The venerable master of our Zen monks
Is the eye of both gods and men.
He is like a flash of lightning or the running
meteor;

However much pursued by men, he cannot be
overcome.

Holding his bamboo stick of three feet he never
stirs

Yet how overwhelmingly we feel his power."

Fumon himself when his time came to die wrote the
following:

"Come! No place to abide.
Gone! No quarters to which to depart.
Ultimately what!
Kwatz!¹
No departing from where I am."

The Great Gate of Nanzenji was built in 1627 by one of Iyeyasu's generals. In the upper story are sculptures of the Buddha and of the Sixteen Rakans (Arhats), disciples of the Buddha. It was in this gate that the noted robber Ishikawa Goemon lived and from which he stole out to commit his bold robberies. Nanzenji has had disastrous fires and the Butsuden or Main Hall of the Buddha is new, but it is a fine structure and has Śākyamuni Buddha upon the altar.

The Hōjō or Priests' Apartments harbour some very fine screen paintings of the Kanō school, Motonobu, Eitoku and Tannyū being well represented. The Tiger rooms the screens of which were painted by Kanō Tannyū are celebrated. While we may wonder at the unreality of the tiger's body we cannot help but admire the decorative effect of the brilliant colours, yellows and greens against the gold backgrounds and the subtle suggestion of power and grace in the tiger's general appearance. One of the treasures is a picture of the first Abbot of Nanzenji, the noble Fumon by

¹ "Kwatz" is the cry given often by Zen masters in the course of their instruction.

Takuma Eiga. It is a splendid example of this artist's work. He sits in a chair clad in his priestly robes with his Chinese shoes placed before him. His striking features with typical Chinese overhanging eyebrows and his virile expression makes the picture a most attractive one. Here can be seen some fine specimens of ancient Chinese art and one arresting picture of the Nehanzo (Nirvana of Buddha) from the brush of Chô-shikyo of the Northern Sung period.

Before the apartments is the unique garden laid out by the Master of æstheticism, Kobori Enshû, representing a tiger passing over a brook. Some will see only a lot of sand and a few stones, but one who has imbibed the spirit of Zen taste will see represented the perfection of art in simplicity of style.

There are many sub-temples in Nanzenji, the largest and finest being Konchi In which boasts of fine screens and a garden also laid out by Kobori Enshû called the Garden of the Stork and the Tortoise. Nanzen In has also beautiful screens, a picturesque garden and a life-size and realistic statue of the Emperor Kameyama who so loved Nanzen In that he left the command that a portion of his ashes should be interred there.

There are interesting graves in Nanzenji of scholars and artists. There is also the delightful little sub-temple of the Bodhisattva Marishiten with a garden laid out by Soami. And here too is the Sôdô or Meditation Hall where young monks congregate to live the Zen life and practise meditation under the instruction of the Roshi (Meditation Master).

A great Zen monastery is an institution in itself with various departments and sub-temples and halls. While the young monks are studying under the Roshi at the Sôdô, the other affairs of the temple are being managed by the Abbot from Nanzen In. Tourists call at the Hôjô to see the screens and pictures. Worshippers do homage to the Buddha at the Butsuden. The life of the sub-temples goes on in various ways. At one, a sweet-faced nun gives lessons in the tea-

ceremony; at another, young students pore over their University lectures; at another the head-priest is instructing the troubled or reciting sutras for the dead. The breeze comes down from Higashiyama, the cherry blooms in spring amidst the green pine trees or the maples scatter their vermillion leaves in the autumn. The Great Gate towers above the black-robed monks sweeping the paths, the Buddha statue sits in the Butsuden and the Imperial effigy at Nanzen In. As I walk in the quiet and noble precincts of Nanzenji, I hear the voice of the past united with the present and that voice speaks of the Triple Jewel, the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Order.

VIII. GINKAKUJI: THE SILVER PAVILION

In the north-eastern part of Kyoto stands the temple of Jishōji, popularly called Gingakuji, the Silver Pavilion, surrounded by its unique garden. When the Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimasa retired in 1479, he gave orders to build a villa on Higashiyama in the grounds of the temple Keiun-In, and in 1483 he moved to it and spent the rest of his days in the pursuit of æsthetic pleasures, such as tea ceremony, incense game, moon gazing, picture collecting, and so on. The beautiful garden was laid out by Sōami, and in 1490 Yoshimasa erected the two-storied pavilion called Gingakuji. He intended to coat it with silver as the Kinkakuji had been of gold, but he died before the plan was carried out. After the death of Yoshimasa, his villa was turned into a Zen temple called Jishōji, and the famous priest Musō Kokushi (Sōseki) is regarded as its founder and first Abbot.

At Yoshimasa's villa was constructed the Jibutsudō, the first four-and-half-mat tea-room, and this room is now under the special protection of the Government. Other famous rooms were the Rōsei-tei for incense parties, which has been rebuilt exactly as it was in Yoshimasa's time, the Gingetsurō used for gazing at the moon, the Silver Pavilion itself, and others.

The Rōsei-tei is a modern replica of Yoshimasa's charming incense room, originally laid out by Shino Munenobu, the founder of Shino pottery in the province of Owari. It was he who initiated Yoshimasa into the delights and mystery of the incense game. Incense itself had been brought from Korea perhaps with the Buddhist statues and pictures which came at the time of the introduction of Buddhism from Korea in 552 A.D. By 900 A.D. incense was imported from China and used chiefly for Buddhist purposes, but Takimono-awase, the making of incense, became a pastime of Japanese noblemen. The incense game was called Kō-awase, or Kiki-kō. The test of ability in the game is to distinguish the different scents of each incense. The implements to be used in the game are many and are artistically made of expensive and beautiful materials. In the Museum of Kyoto today is exhibited a set of incense game utensils which give a good idea of the charming delicacy of this æsthetic pastime. This incense ceremony—for ceremony it is more than a game—is also an expression of the Zen spirit, because our original nature is purified with the fragrance of incense which was originally burnt in reverence to the Buddha.

The tea ceremony was greatly enjoyed by Yoshimasa. His master and indeed the first true tea-master in Japan was Shuko, a disciple of Ikkyū. It is said that while practising Zazen he would become sleepy in spite of all his efforts to keep awake, so he asked a doctor to give him some remedy which would help him to keep awake. He was told that tea was stimulating, and advised to try it and was delighted to find that it helped him to keep awake and gave it to others. One day when Yoshimasa visited Daitokuji he was served tea by Shuko and he became interested in Shuko's style of serving it. He became so interested indeed that he built a tea-house for Shuko and wrote for it a tablet to hang in the tea-room. This tablet said "Shuko anju"—the Master of the Cottage of Shuko (shining jewel). In the garden was a well called "Samegai" which means "to awake" for

its water was so pure, it was considered the best water to use for the tea which awakes.

Shuko was not only a tea master but also an adept at the incense ceremony and a skilful composer of poems. Ikkyū once wanted to see how thoroughly Shuko understood Zen. Ikkyū ordered one of his Jisha to serve tea to Shuko. Just as the Jisha was about to serve the tea to Shuko, Ikkyū struck the bowl in Shuko's hand with his iron wand and cried "Kwats!" The bowl was broken in pieces. But Shuko sat as calm and composed as before, and when he was about to leave, he made a low bow to Ikkyū. Ikkyū asked him, "How about your bowl of tea?" Shuko answered, "The willow is green and the flower is red." Ikkyū knew that Shuko understood, and he himself saw that the true understanding of the tea ceremony and of Zen are the same. He presented to Shuko the calligraphy of Engo, a famous Chinese Zen priest, as a souvenir of this occasion.

Yoshimasa once asked Shuko what the spirit of tea was. Shuko's answer was "If we enter the tea-room, we should be free from attachment, and calm. When we serve tea to others, we must be filled with prudence, reverence, purity, and quietude." Is this not like Zen? The studied simplicity of the tea-room shows Zen influence. Okakura has said:

"The tea-room was an oasis in the dreary waste of existence, when weary travellers could meet to drink from the common spring of art appreciation. The ceremony was an improvised drama, whose plot was woven about the tea, the flowers and the paintings. Not a colour to disturb the tone of the room, not a sound to mar the rhythm of things; not a gesture to obtrude upon the harmony, not a word to break the unity of the surroundings, all movements to be performed simply and naturally—such were the aims of the tea-ceremony."

We can hardly wonder that Yoshimasa fled from court life, became a priest, and devoted himself to the æsthetic arts. As the perfection of the tea-room was due to Shuko and

the incense apartment to Shino Munenobu, so is the beauty of the garden to Sōami. He was the master architect of laying out gardens, he was also an adept at painting, calligraphy, flower arrangement, incense ceremony. Many of the most beautiful gardens in Japan are due to Soami's taste which was influenced by Zen. Here we find the Pool of the Brocade Mirror, the Island of White Cloud, the Peak of Burning Incense, the Rocks of the Dipper Stars. All of these are poetically named and as poetically arranged to make a beautiful and harmonious whole. From whatever point of view the garden is looked at with its array of pond, trees, rocks, islands, bridges, it is lovely, attractive in its very simplicity.

The Silver Pavilion may be dilapidated but its perfect shape is to be admired. Something of the ancient style of Chinese architecture is here with its oval-topped second-story windows under a sloping roof up-turned at the corners. Seen on a snowy day or by moonlight, its curves seem to gain new beauty. In the upper story is a statue of the Bodhisattva Kwannon sitting in meditation. It is said to be the work of the renowned sculptor Unkei and its sweet feminine beauty is very charming.

There are some good pictures at Ginkakuji by Kanaoka, Sesshu, Chōdenschu, Taigado, the celebrated One Hundred Monkey picture, the White Cockatoo, Ōkyo's Sparrow deprived of eyes that it might not fly away, and Beisen and Buson's screens, and two pictures by Yoshimasa himself. Many of Yoshimasa's tea trays and bowls can be seen but the most interesting object of all is the nearly life-size statue of Yoshimasa himself. He is clad in priest's robes and looks life-like as he sits in the meditation posture gazing straight before him. Mr. Fenollosa has described this statue thus: "There the great Shōgun sits in splendid dark wood statue, as if alive; the single lines of his priest-like garment, the sweet, sad smile on his face, the pathetic dignity of his fine clasped hands bringing a strangely interesting personality

before us. Here indeed is the very Lorenzo di Medici of Japan, who had done for his great contemporaries, by his purely democratic interest in art, *primus inter pares*, what the great Florentine banker had done for his supreme generation. Yes, if Yoshimitsu had been the Cosmo di Medici of Japan, Yoshimasa was the Lorenzo, and each pair, by mere accident, were exactly contemporary. The analogy goes on even to the degenerate Medici and Ashikaga of the sixteenth century."

It is a mistake to condemn Yoshimasa as many historians do. From the political point of view, he may have been a bad Shōgun and from the strictly moral point of view a bad man, but from the point of view of art and æsthetic culture, he did a great service to Japan and without him Japanese art would not be what it is today. One writer has compared him to Nero who enjoyed his parties while the country was in a state of war; but, as we have seen, another has compared him to Lorenzo of Medici because of his patronage of art. Under Yoshimasa six great Zen temples were founded and he has left the perfect garden of Ginkakuji. Yoshimasa increased the Chinese culture of Japan.

The beauty which Yoshimasa admired was that which reflected Zen taste, which had to borrow a term often used in the Nō drama—Yūgen—the beauty which underlies form, colour, and movement. To Yoshimasa is due the growth of Zen taste and feeling artistically in Japan. Not only to him do we owe the perfection of the Tea Ceremony and the Incense Game, but also Flower Arrangement, Gardening, Architecture, Decoration, even the Cooking which has become characteristic of Zen temples.

G. B. Sansom in his *Japan* appreciates Yoshimasa in the following words:

"The Ashikaga Shōguns are generally treated by historians as bad, selfish rulers who did nothing for the State, and certainly as administrators there is not much to be said for them. Yet if we compare their record with that of more

respectable characters in the national story, it seems that they did as good service to posterity as most great captains and statesmen. Feudal policies have left little more trace than feudal battles; but Yoshimasa and Yoshimitsu, through their reprehended indulgence in pleasure, have left however involuntarily a most valuable legacy. It is thanks to their eager and quite selfish promotion of foreign trade that Japan is now so rich in treasures of Chinese art, notably Sung, Yüan and Ming paintings and porcelain. It was under their patronage that the fine arts still flourished, in an oasis of taste and learning around which was a desert of war and barbarity. Nearly all of the applied arts, but especially ceramics, owe a great deal to their practice of the tea-ceremony, whose adepts were liberal if exacting patrons. And if their own particular culture faded quickly away, it was not until it had given shape and substance to an æsthetic tradition which, though it has suffered transformations, in essence still survives."

The Japanese love the moon. They enjoy viewing beautiful places by moonlight and they enjoy gazing at the moon itself. Poets have celebrated the moon's charm and painters have sought to catch her loveliness. The mountain back of Ginkakuji is called Tsukimatsu-yama (awaiting-the-moon mountain"). At one end of this garden is a tiny stream of water falling into a small pool called "the Moon-washing Fountain," because the reflection of the moon in the water appears to be washed by the fall.

Upon entering the garden a terrace of white sand, hardened by the elements, attracts notice. It is called Ginsha-dan ("Silver Sand Foreshore"). Farther on is a flat-topped, conical heap of sand, about 5 ft. high, 10 ft. in diameter at the base, named Kogetsu-dai ("Moon-Facing Mound"). These are both popularly supposed to be the places where the æsthetic ex-Ashikaga shōgun, Yoshimasa, the founder of the garden, held his moon-viewing parties, but as a matter of fact, these sand heaps were made for the

prosaic and more practical purpose of having a supply of sand on hand to scatter on the paths when the Emperor visited the garden. These visits were usually unannounced and sometimes caught the head-gardener with a scant supply of sand. Determined to be always prepared he decided to store sand in the garden; then in order to make it as decorative as possible he formed it into this terrace and flat-topped cone of perfect shape. This, the priests say, points a moral: "Even as loose a material as sand, can, with infinite patience and perseverance, be made into a flawless structure, so can scattered and random thoughts be gathered into a perfect concentration."

But at Ginkakuji Yoshimasa had his moon-viewing terrace even although he did not use the sand piles. The following poems translated from the Japanese may give an idea of the love for the moon.

The moon is a favourite subject for Japanese poets, and there are many poems written in her praise. I give only a few as illustrations. This might have been written for Yoshimasa and his friends:

"Here come the courtiers and the ladies fair
Gazing their fill upon the gracious moon.
Happy they are, and, Oh, how beautiful the
moon this evening!"

Another poet sings:

"Above the white clouds
Joining their feathers
The wild geese fly;
The autumn moon,
So bright it is,
We can count the number
Of the flying birds."

The poet Narihira writes:

"Not yet sated with the moon's fair light
I watch her going with a vain regret.
Ah, would that mountain edge might break away
To hold her longer, she whom I adore."

The poet-priest Saigyō writes:

“When looking at the moon
How happy I feel,
For I know she is my friend.”

Fujiwara-no-Akisuke pens:

“The autumn wind is moving the clouds,
Look, brightness is peeping forth,
Ah, lovely moon!”

We can imagine Yoshimasa and his friends sitting silently on his silver terrace gazing up at the moon in worshipful appreciation and we can realise that Ginkakuji was a matchless place for moon-light adorers. And even now in these prosaic days, the rays from this same silver moon which fell upon those æsthetes of old, still lighten Sōami's lovely garden at Ginkakuji.

SEIREN (BLUE LOTUS)

TWO EPISTLES OF RENNYO, THE EIGHTH PATRIARCH OF THE SHIN SECT

I

When we consider well and carefully the transient appearances of this human world, we realise that that which is most fleeting is the phantasmagorial duration of human life on this earth. So we have never heard of a man who has enjoyed a life of ten thousand years. Human life passes too soon! Who of our days can live even for a hundred years? Whether I die earlier than you, or you earlier than I, there is no knowing. My life may not extend over today or tomorrow. And yet it does not follow that you survive me because you are younger. The falling of the dew-drops—so many, indeed—from the tree does not necessarily depend where they are lodged, on the leaves or on the stems. Therefore, even if in the morning we have a rosy face, we cannot be sure that we shall not turn into bleached bones in the evening. Such is our karma. As soon as we are touched with the wind of transitoriness, our two eyes will close, our breathing stop for ever, and our rosy face, alas, is changed and gone! All the family come together and weep and wail, but in vain. As this ought not to continue, the body is sent to the waste and burnt on the midnight fire; nothing is left then, but a mass of bleached bones. "Sadness" is indeed too weak an expression to be said of this experience. Human life is thus fleeting, and uncertain. Therefore, let us all realise as early as possible the importance of the future life, and, trustfully relying upon Amitabha Buddha, say our Nembutsu.

With reverence, I remain.

II

“Those who do not care for their future life are ignorant, even though they may understand eight millions of sutras; but those who [do care for their future life] are wise, even though they may be unlettered women.” [So it was said.] Therefore, in our doctrine, the hard study of many volumes of sutras, and erudition are of no avail if there is no awakening of faith. Therefore, Shinran Shōnin said in one of his letters that no men or women can be saved unless they believe in Amida’s Original Vow. As this is the case, you need not cherish a bit of doubt that those who, abandoning other forms of worship and deeply relying on Amida with a sincere heart, wish to be saved in this life of theirs, are sure, all in all, ten out of ten, a hundred out of a hundred, to be reborn in Amida’s Compensation Land of Purity.

With reverence, I remain.

NOTES

Leaving behind a truly remarkable monument to his energy and faithfulness, Bishop Yemyo Imamura of the Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii died suddenly on December 22, 1932, at his residence in Honolulu. He was sixty-five years old.

Bishop Imamura was born in Fukui prefecture, Japan, on May 25, 1867, of a family consisting of a continuous line of Buddhist priests. Some years after his graduation from Keio University in 1894, he went to Hawaii in the year 1899, and was appointed bishop of the local Hongwanji Mission in the following year, succeeding the Late Bishop Hoji Satomi. He served in the same capacity during the past thirty-two years until he answered the inevitable call of death to the deep regret of thousands whose lives he in a large measure moulded along religious and cultural lines.

Under his competent leadership the local Buddhist work progressed rapidly. In 1909, he founded the Japanese High School for boys and girls in the interest of Japanese education among the local young people. After more than three decades of his activity in Hawaii, the works achieved under his direct management and supervision may be summed up as follows: 36 churches and 30 lecture halls, with 100,000 members; 34 Women's Buddhist Associations, with 5,129 members; 33 Y. M. B. A., with 2,937 members; 124 Sunday schools, with 12,511 students; and in educational field, 29 primary schools, with 7,293 students and 2 intermediate schools, with 1,144 students, etc. Beside these achievements for the benefit of the Japanese immigrants and their second generations, he organised in 1921 the English Department for the purpose of the international missionary movement, which is steadily carrying on its works gaining several priests formally ordained and a number of communicants among English speaking people. Within recent years, he began to spread the Buddhist gospel to English-speaking people and had also promoted the Y. M. B. A. activities there. In July, 1930, he held the first Convention of the Pan-Pacific Buddhist Young Men's Associations at Honolulu, inviting

the representatives of Young Buddhists from the United States, Canada, Japan, China, India, Siam, Burma, etc., which was a sensational event in the whole Buddhist world. The Publication Department also under his supervision is active in publishing both in English and in Japanese, a number of books and magazines, among which his own "Democracy According to the Buddhist Viewpoint," 1918, and "Hawaiian Buddhist Annual," first published in 1930, are internationally popular. He made one visit to the mainland and six visits to Japan.

Following his last trip to Japan the year before last, he interested himself and others in the establishment of a Hawaii-Japan Library, the purpose of which is to introduce Japanese culture to the people of Hawaii. His proposal has of late been endorsed by the alumni association of the Japanese High School, which decided to undertake the work as a memorial of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the school.

Bishop Imamura is survived by his widow, Mrs. Kiyoko Imamura, and by six children.

Acting Consul-general Ichitaro Shibata and other local Japanese leaders all expressed profound regret when informed of the death of Bishop Imamura. It is said that his funeral was the largest ever held for a Japanese resident in Hawaii.

In the death, somewhat sudden and unexpected, of Dr Kaikyoku Watanabe, which took place on January 25, this year, we have sustained an almost irrecoverable loss not only in the thought world but in the various social activities of Japanese Buddhism. He was only sixty-two, and if he had taken better care of himself he might easily have survived for many years yet to come. The direct cause that aggravated his illness, we are told, was his attendance at the New Year's exercises at the Middle School of which he was the Principal. This faithfulness, even against the advice of his friends, to the work under his management, most unfortunately precipitated his death.

He was a unique character in many ways. If he had been allowed to pursue his study of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts which he started and continued during his ten years' stay in Germany, he would have produced many more

scholarly works than were actually accomplished. "The Story of Kalmāṣapāda and its Evolution in Indian Literature" and "Die Bhadracari, Untersucht und Herausgegeben", however, remain worthy contributions from his pen. The destruction by fire of all his valuable Sanskrit MSS at the time of the great earthquake, 1923, must have been the cause of great despondency to him.

His whole-souled Bodhisattva aspirations refused to keep him inside the library. He was engaged in various practical enterprises, educational and philanthropic, scholarly and ecclesiastical. The great cultural monument he completed just before his death was probably the editing with Professor J. Takakusu of the Buddhist Tripitaka in eighty-five huge volumes. Against difficulties of all kinds, they finally succeeded in this gigantic task which was carried on through the years of general depression.

He had a very warm heart for unfortunate members of society. He was always ready to help them personally or through organisations. He was the first modern Buddhist who took an active interest in social movements. His temple not only enshrined a wooden image of Amitābha Buddha to whom he never neglected to pay his homage in the shape of sutra-reading, incense-burning, etc., but harboured many young and still imperfectly developed Buddha-souls who shared his simple meals and were willing to submit themselves to his spiritual guidance. His temple was thus a nursery of Bodhisattvas in embryo.

One of the chief characteristics of his movements was its always being international. He had a wider view of Buddhist activities than most of his contemporaries. He knew that the mission of modern Buddhists of Japan consisted in making the teaching they professed to believe more universally acceptable far beyond the borders of their own land. Instead of historically clinging to their traditions and worn-out usages he contrived to adapt them to requirements of modern thought and feeling. He was not a Buddhist of the old type.

Perhaps the greatest of his virtues was, as is asserted by one of his most intimate friends, his Bodhisattva-like practice of what is termed "secret virtue" by Zen followers. He helped others in various ways to carry out their plans and constantly encouraged them. But when they were suc-

cessfully accomplished he never breathed to others what part he had played in the achievement. Labour and work he contributed, but merit he was willing to give up for others. This was the way he captured the hearts of many people, young and old.

A word must be added about his efforts to help animals. He was associated with the Japanese Humane Society of Tokyo and an active supporter of the Animals Shelter at Kamakura, established by the editors of this magazine.

Last November, the Zen Hospice at the Temple of Empukuji, Yawata, was formally opened. It was becoming an increasing difficulty to help and provide for foreign visitors to Japan, who wished to study Zen meditation at close hand. The Rev. Tesshū Kōzuki and some of his friends had long had the desire to help Western students of Buddhism to learn Zen. The result of their efforts is the Zen Hospice situated in the grounds of the Empukuji Temple, Yawata. On November 20 of last year, the ceremony for the opening of the Hospice was conducted at the temple in the presence of the representative of the Governor of Kyoto, of the Ministry of Education, the Mayor of Kyoto, the President of the Kyoto Imperial University, high priests of the Zen sect and invited guests.

A circular issued by Empukuji reads as follows.

THE ZEN HOSPICE

The time has now come in Japan to propagate Mahayana Buddhism abroad, especially its form Zen, for Zen is the essence of Oriental culture and preserves most perfectly the original spirit of Buddhism. Zen has made a wonderful development in Japan. Its spirit is present in the life of the East; therefore, students of the East should know something of its teaching, which is a faithful transmission from the founder of Buddhism, the great Sakyamuni.

We have to think how we can introduce this Zen way of thinking and living to the West. There are two ways: one is to send out missionaries from here, and the other is for students of Zen to come to Japan. To send missionaries of Zen to Western countries is a serious undertaking, for not only is a thorough knowledge of at least one of the Eu-



The Zen Hospice

ropean languages (preferably the English language) needed but also an understanding of Western culture and psychology. The second way is passive, and it is also difficult and requires a thoughtful preparation. Those persons who come to Japan have already something in them which is ready to receive Zen. Even though they do not understand the Japanese language, still some means have been found to teach them.

Hinayana Buddhism is known to some extent in the West and there are quite a number of its followers who are devoted to live the Buddhist life. But the knowledge of the Mahayana form of Buddhism has been more or less restricted to a few scholars who have made it their life work to unravel its outwardly complicated teaching through the mastery of the Sanskrit literature. As to the practical students of this form there have not been many so far, but the wish to gain an understanding of it has been constantly on the increase. Even within the circles of our own acquaintance, we know a number of people, both men and women, who have expressed their desire to learn the Mahayana, especially Zen. Some Americans have come to Japan to study it. And it is for



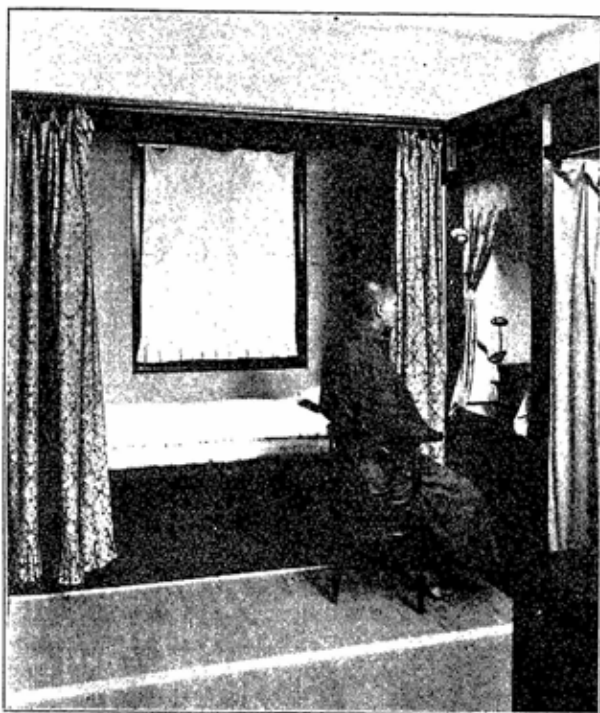
The Meditation Cave

us in Japan to make it possible for them here to do so without their experiencing too much inconvenience in the practical way of living.

So, we have built a hospice for them where they can have suitable accommodation. Some may say that the Japanese Buddhist temples are spacious enough to give shelter to our foreign students, and the latter too may like to find their living quarters there. But our experiences so far have proved this a failure. Our purpose is thus to do away with unessentials as far as possible and to concentrate our efforts on what is most vital in the understanding of Zen. As we know, some things in the Zen monastery life can well be dispensed with for foreign students whose habits and ways of living deviate so much from ours. For this reason, it is most desirable to provide them with a simple and quiet place where they can practise meditation, receive instruction in Zen, and gain something of the Zen spirit without contradicting too much their own way of living.

Information for Residents of the Hospice

The Hospice is situated at Yawata near Kyoto, in the



One of the Rooms for Residents

grounds of the temple of Empukuji. There is at present accommodation for five residents at the Hospice. The rooms are simple and comfortable; beds are provided, but sleeping on the tatami in Japanese style may be preferred. There is a small kitchen which residents may use to prepare Western food for themselves as desired, provided that it is strictly vegetarian. The regular monk's food at the Sōdō will be served free of charge. Other food must be bought and prepared by the residents themselves. There will be a charge of ¥15 a month for the room and there will be a small charge for service. Electric light is provided free of charge except for heating the room in winter. It is expected that a monthly donation however small but according to one's means will be made by each resident to the Temple to compensate for instruction and care.

There is a meditation cave near the Hospice for the use of the students until they are prepared to enter the Zendo. As the Zen way of living is to be practised as far as possible the care of the room and garden is to devolve upon the residents. Unnecessary conversation, musical instruments and popular literature are to be eliminated. It is presumed that the person who comes to the Zen Hospice proposes to devote him or herself to practising Zen meditation (Zazen) and to a certain degree in living the Zen life. References are required as to character and standing.

Applicants for residence should apply to

Rev. Tesshu Kōzuki,

Empukuji Temple,

Yawata, near Kyoto, Japan;

or Mr. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki,

39 Ono-machi, Koyama,

Kyoto, Japan.

Owing to the delay in issuing our magazine, some of our exchanges have perhaps concluded that we have suspended and have ceased sending their magazines. We thank those who still continue to send and assure all that we have not suspended and have no intention of doing so and shall continue in spite of irregularities which we hope will soon be no more. It is our aim to issue the magazine more regularly in the future.

We have recently received the following magazines in exchange: *Buddhism in England*, London; *The Maha-Bodhi*, Calcutta; *The Aryan Path*, Bombay; *Message of the East*, Boston; *Vedanta Darpana*, New York; *Vedanta Kesari*, India; *Shrine of Wisdom*, London; *Mythic Magazine*, India; *Theosophical Quarterly*, New York; *Bulletin of Oriental Studies*, London; *Bulletin of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, India; *Journal of Religion*, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.; *The Epoch*, Ilfracombe, England; *Le Lotus Bleu*, Paris; *The Liberal Catholic*, London; *The Theosophical Messenger*, Wheaton, Ill., U. S. A.; *Canadian Theosophist*, Toronto, Canada; *The Kalpaka*, India; *Calamus*, Dublin, Ireland; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, India; *Il Progresso Religioso*, Rome; *Litterae Orientales*, Leipzig; *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*; *Journal Asiatique*,

Paris; *Journal of Urusvati, Himalayan Research Institute, Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* Urusvati, Punjab; *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik Veröffentlichungen des Institutes für Völkerkunde an der Universität Wien, Vienna.*

We give thanks for the following books which we shall make an effort to review in our next number.

THE CHARACTERS CH'AO AND HSI, by I. V. Gillis. Published by the Gest Chinese Research Library of the McGill University, Montreal, Canada, printed in Peiping, 1931. pp. 44.

BIOGRAPHY OF THE EMPRESS TENG, A Translation from the Annals of the Later Han Dynasty by Nancy Lee Swann, Reprinted from Journal of American Oriental Society, Volume 51, No 2, Montreal, Canada, 1931. 159 pp.

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HINDU MISSION by Prof. Tarachand Dgajra, M. A., Shikarpur-Sind, India, 1932. Pamphlet, 66 pp.

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AN OUTLINE OF ZEN BUDDHISM, by Alan W. Watts. The Golden Vista Press, London, 1932, pamphlet, pp. 32.

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DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI

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THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

THE BACKGROUND AND EARLY USE OF THE BUDDHA-KṢETRA CONCEPT¹

INTRODUCTION

"The obscurest period in the history of Buddhism," wrote Sir Charles Eliot in 1921,² "is that which follows the reign of Asoka...."

Now after more than ten years these post-Asokan "dark ages"—as he calls them—are still relatively unexplored, though the researches and insights of the great Buddhist scholars are gradually illuminating them. We are beginning to have some notion of what was going on in North India when the Mahāyāna came into being;³ we are learning to find in primitive Buddhism many elements—ignored or unknown by earlier scholars acquainted only with monastic Hinayāna—which contained the seeds of the Mahāyāna. We are beginning to have some vague ideas as to how these seeds developed into later doctrines and practices. But we have made as yet only a beginning. Many of the distinctive concepts of the Mahāyāna are still very incompletely understood and their origin and growth almost completely shrouded in darkness.

One of the most significant and least explored of such characteristic Mahāyāna concepts is the Buddha-Kṣetra or Buddha's Field. There is hardly a Sanskrit Buddhist work but mentions it somewhere—usually tens of thousands of them. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*⁴ one of the basic scrip-

¹ This is the first part of a dissertation, presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Yale University, 1933.

² *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 3.

³ When the second volume of the Cambridge History of India is made accessible to the public we shall know more. Fortunately Professor de La Vallée Poussin had access to it for his *L'Inde aux Temps des Mauryas* (1930).

⁴ Henceforth generally designated as the *Lotus*.

tures of the Greater Vehicle, we are almost wearied by the frequent repetitions of descriptions of the Buddha-fields which the various Bodhisattvas are to obtain—"thoroughly purified, charming, even, adorned with jewel-trees...." etc. The Buddha-fields appear to be second only to Buddhahood itself in their importance in the future destiny of the Bodhisattvas. They appear also in this text in myriads as part of cosmic illuminations. The *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*¹ and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*² are full of them. The vastly popular *Sukhāvativyūha* is centered in the idea of Amitāyās' Buddha-kṣetra, and the most popular sects of Buddhism to-day in the Far East are the Pure Land sects, which are based upon this idea.

In view of the great importance of the concept for an understanding of Mahāyāna literature, it is strange how universally the Buddha-kṣetra has been neglected by writers on the Mahāyāna. Seldom have they even explained the term; much less thought of inquiring into its background and development—the problem which shall particularly concern us in the present study. Buddha himself, clearly, never mentioned such a thing as a "Buddha's field;" whence then did the idea come from? What are these Buddha-fields? Where are they? How do the Bodhisattvas attain them, and what do they do with them when each has acquired one of his own?

Kern in his translation of the *Lotus*, a scripture in which the Buddha-fields play a very significant part, gives us no light on their meaning. In his only relevant foot-note³ he explains the Buddha-fields as "obviously the morning sky before dawn!"—an almost amusingly misleading interpretation, based upon the solar-myth theory in terms of which he understood (or misunderstood) the Buddhology of the *Lotus*.

¹ Henceforth generally designated as *Avataṃsaka*.

² Henceforth generally designated as *Vimalakīrti*.

³ SBE XXI, p. 8.

The few other explanations which have been given are far from adequate. The occasional references to Buddha-kṣetra in Professor de la Vallée Poussin's invaluable articles in ERE, "Cosmogony and Cosmology, Buddhist," "Ages of the World," etc., mention it only in its purely cosmological use as a certain aggregate unit of world-systems (equal to the great chiliocosm which is made up of a thousand million world-systems). Burnouf, on page 363 of his notes on the *Lotus*, notes the three kinds of Buddha-fields according to a Singhalese authority but goes no further than that. Dr. Barnett's definition, in the introduction to his translation of Śāntideva's *Path of Light*,¹ gives a good idea of the ethical as well as purely cosmological meaning of the Buddha-field, including the Buddha's relationship to it: "Every Buddha," he explains, "has a domain of his own or Buddha-kṣetra, a universe under the rule of the Law preached by him. The magnificence of such a domain is proportionate to the nobility of the deeds performed by its ruling Buddha during his probation as a Bodhisattva." In a later note (p. 97) he defined the kṣetra more briefly as "the domain of a Buddha—the system of a thousand million worlds, each under the guardianship of a Buddha."

Even this definition, however, which is the best I have been able to discover, fails to give the reader much suspicion of the far-reaching ethical and philosophical implications which make the Buddha-kṣetra such a fascinating and complex problem to try to unravel.

The place of the Buddha-field and the Buddha-fields in the Mahāyāna scheme has up to this time never (so far as I can discover) been investigated, and the question of the origin of the concept has never been raised except in a single paragraph in a general book on *Religion in Various Cultures*,² where one would least expect an original sugges-

¹ *The Path of Light*, Wisdom of the East Series, p. 31.

² *Religion in Various Cultures*, by Friess and Schneider, published late in 1932 (Holt, N. Y.), p. 154.

tion about an obscure matter of Buddhist doctrinal history which had not hitherto been even thought of as a problem. The authors refer to the field as a "new and distinctively Buddhist paradise-concept"¹ and suggest that it arose as a solution of conflicts between the idea of Nirvāṇa and the idea of heaven. This meaning of the Buddha-kṣetra was probably uppermost in later Mahāyāna; Messrs. Friess and Schneider are particularly to be commended for recognising the importance of the idea of Buddha's *merit* as helping all those in his field, and their suggestion concerning the origin of the concept is valuable. We shall see in Chapter III how the development of the kṣetra-concept was indeed fostered by people's need for a concrete realm in which to look forward to being reborn, and by the growing desire to worship Buddha and be with him in person. But this represents only one among many factors leading to the development of the concept which we propose to study. The very development of Buddhology, for example, which is implied in the notion of such a Buddha's field, implies a considerable evolution of beliefs about the Buddha, and this evolution must be investigated in order to understand how the notion of a Buddha's field arose. In this study we propose to investigate as far as possible all the factors which played a part in the development of the Buddha-kṣetra concept.²

¹ "It was held that each Buddha upon attaining Nirvāṇa acquires a field (*kṣetra*), a sphere throughout which his presence and his vast accumulation of merit continue to exert a saving influence upon all those who call upon him...."

² The chief sources used for the study of development are as follows:

(a) For early Buddhist thought of the third century B.C. and earlier, chiefly the *Dhammapada*, *Sutta-Nipāta*, *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, and *Saṃyutta-Nikāyas* (supplemented by the later *Aṅguttara*), and *Jātaka*: edicts of Asoka (273-231 B.C.) for lay Buddhism of that period;

(b) For orthodox Hīnayāna ideas: the *Visuddhī Magga*, *Attha-sālinī* and other commentaries by Buddhaghosa of Ceylon (fifth century A.D.);

(c) For the period from the third century, B.C. on, when the Mahāyāna was taking rise: *Kathā Vatthu* (for doctrinal controversies in the third century, and particularly for the Mahāsāṃghikas),

and to elucidate the various sides of its meaning as it is used in Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures¹ up to about 450 A. D.

At the outset of our inquiry into the *background* of the concept of a Buddha's field, we must go to the early Pali scriptures (see note on preceding page) and ask what conceptions or presuppositions we can find there which may

Vasumitra's *Treatise on the Sects*, *Milinda-pañha* (end of pre-Christian era and beginning of first century A.D.); supplemented by histories of contemporary India, translations from Chinese versions of scriptures (especially in Przyluski's "Concile de Rājagṛha"; "La Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka"; "Le Parinirvāṇa et les Funérailles, JAS, 1918 ff. etc., and Levi and Chavannes' translation of the sixteen Arhats cycle), and the evidence of archæology (*Mus*, "Le Buddha Paré," etc.). Articles and books consulted will be found listed in the Bibliography.

¹ The principal Sanskrit sources studied for the use of the Buddha-kṣetra are as follows, with the dates of their first translation into Chinese (or other dates where possible):

Daśabhūmika Sūtra (ed. Rahder) A.D. 297 (but some text on the bhūmis was translated between 68 and 70 A.D. and another certainly existed under the Parthian king An Shih Kao 148-170 A.D.)

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (ed. Kern and Nanjio) A.D. 265-317.

Sukhāvatīvyūha (ed. Müller and Nanjio,) first tr. between 148 and 170 A.D., and often thereafter.

Lalitavistara (ed. Lefmann), containing some very old materials but largely representing Buddhist tradition of the second century A.D. (Winternitz).

Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra (ed. and tr. S. Lévi), by Asaṅga (fourth century A.D. or perhaps fifth; there is still disagreement on his dates.)

Śikṣāsamuccaya (ed. Bendall), compiled by Śāntideva in seventh century A.D. from earlier sources.

The following translations were made especial use of:

Karuṇapūṇḍarīka (used in tr. from Tibetan) tr. into Chinese in sixth century.

Avatamsakasūtra (used in tr. from Chinese), 317-420 A.D.

Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, (used in tr. from Chinese), frequently quoted by Nāgārjuna (second century A.D.) so probably several centuries earlier. First tr. into Chinese 188 A.D. (this tr. lost.) Idzumi's tr. (*Eastern Buddhist*, Vols. III and IV) is based on the Chinese tr. by Kumārajīva (406 A.D. For this date see Idzumi—Intr. to *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, *Eastern Buddhist* II, p. 358-366.) For scholastic theory the *Abhidharma Kośa* of Vasubandhu (brother of Asaṅga) and the *Viññaptimātratā Siddhi* of Hsuan-tsang (seventh century A.D. compilation and Chinese tr. of commentaries on *Trīṃśikā* of Vasubandhu) were consulted in the French translations of de la Vallée Poussin.

have led to the notion of Buddha's having a "field" in any sense whatsoever. Accordingly we shall in the first chapter investigate the use of *khetta* (the Pali form of *kṣetra*) and related words (such as *visaya* and *gocara*) whose use may throw some light on this question. In such an inquiry it is important to remember the Hindu gift (not, however, confined to India!) for using a concrete word at once in a literal and in a symbolic sense, thus investing common expressions with profound ethical and philosophical overtones. This is admirably illustrated in the case of the word *bhūmi*, which meant first of all simply "earth," one of the five great elements (*mahābhūtāni*). Buddhaghosa explains (in *Attha-sālinī*,—"The Expositor" II, p. 291) how it may mean "the great earth, or "a state of consciousness" or "the fruition of the religious life" because it is the *ground* or *soil* for associated states which are dependent upon it. It is somewhat in the latter sense that the word *bhūmi* came to mean one of the seven, or ten, *stages* in the career of a Bodhisattva, so that a description of the *bhūmis* (e.g. as in *Daśabhūmika*) covers almost all that matters in Mahāyāna ethics and even metaphysics. Similarly *kṣetra* was used in several ways—literal and physical, psychological, ethical, etc. It is familiar in non-Buddhist literature in the sense of the "body" as the "field" of the *kṣetra-jñā* or "soul" (see especially *Bhagavad Gītā* XIII).¹ In Pali it appears frequently in the phrase *puññakkhetta*—"field of merit" (Sanskrit *puṇya-kṣetra*), meaning an object of charity, usually some holy person, by *giving* to whom one produces merit for oneself. This use of *khetta* seems to have had nothing to do with "Buddha-khetta" (though the idea of *merit* is closely related to the Buddha-field, as we shall see). The use of *kṣetra* in the concept we propose to study combines psychological, ethical, and other uses, but its primary meaning is remarkably close to the literal, though on a cosmic scale: a Buddha's

¹ And the later *Upaniṣads*—e.g. *Śvet*, 6, 16; *Maitri* 2, 5, etc. See also *Mahāvastu* iii, p. 398, l. 14, 399, l. 2.

kṣetra in *his area of the universe*, his "field" in a *primarily spatial and cosmological sense*. Hence we must explore early conceptions of Buddha's relation to the world in order to discover the background of the Buddha-kṣetra notion. Then, having found that theories about the range of his *knowledge* were among the earliest ideas of the range of his powers, we shall examine the *implications* of his *knowledge of the world*, to try to discover what is the meaning of calling the whole cosmos "Buddha's domain" in this sense.

In the second part of the first chapter we shall see what is meant by calling the world (or a particular aggregate of worlds) "Buddha's field" in the sense of *sphere of his beneficent influence*.

In the second and third chapters we shall try to see what is meant by calling the world "Buddha's field" in the sense of *the realm of his authority*, asking:

A. What such authority entails in Buddha's relation to the creatures in his field;

B. How each "future Buddha" acquires such a realm, (i.e. what is the place of the kṣetra in the Bodhisattva-career, and in particular what is the meaning of "purifying the field"?)

C. How the notions of a Buddha's *duty to enlighten others*, and his *particular local responsibility for a particular world* arose and developed in the history of Buddhist thought.

This will involve consideration of the development of the "Bodhisattva-ideal" (one of the great problems in the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism), of the belief in many contemporary Buddhas¹ assigned to different parts of the universe, of the "Hinduizing" of Buddhism through such influences as those of the Cakravartin legend, the Hindu deva-paradises, bhakti-cults, etc.

In the fourth chapter and its appendices we shall see the part played by the myriad fields in cosmic apocalypses,

¹ One of the few really distinguishing marks of the Mahāyāna.

especially as described in the *Lotus*, and we shall try to understand the ontology expressed by these "appearances." This will involve some consideration of the meaning of the three *kāyas*—the Buddhist "trinity"—in their relation to the Buddha-kṣetra, which involves us deeply in one of the central problems of Mahāyāna origins: the growing tendency to believe in a cosmic *Buddha-kāya* or *Dharma-kāya*, of which the particular Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are thought to be only temporary manifestations. In the latter part of that chapter we shall see how this metaphysical doctrine of the Buddha-kṣetra is interpreted in a subjective and (epistemologically) "idealistic" sense which had far-reaching influence in the later Mahāyāna.

It will be seen that our problem is not an isolated one, but involves for its solution a large number of the most significant problems in the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In the present state of Buddhist research it must be obvious that we cannot give a final answer to any single question which so largely involves the solution of others for its full explanation. While scholars of long standing are wrestling with the long-dark history of the early schisms, which must be dug out from the Tibetan and Chinese canon by such a combination of scholarship and imagination as men like Przyluski possess, while texts are still to be published, it would be presumptuous for a beginner to whom only Sanskrit and Pali are accessible to attempt a final solution of any phase of such a complex and relatively unexplored field. But the very fact of its being pioneer territory makes a beginning necessary, and so much can be gleaned from already published texts, with the aid of translations from Chinese and Tibetan and the invaluable work of Sylvain Lévi, La Vallée Poussin, Huber, Przyluski, Senart, and the rest, that it seems worth while to try to put together the data and conjectures that follow, in the hope that they may shed at least a preliminary light on this kṣetra which is so much in need of illumination.

CHAPTER I. BUDDHA AND THE COSMOS

A. AS FIELD OF HIS KNOWLEDGE

B. AS RANGE OF HIS BENEVOLENT INFLUENCE

One idea of the relation of the Buddha-kṣetra to the cosmos is set forth in the story of how a certain Sada Kaiseki, afraid lest Copernican astronomy overthrow the Buddhist cosmology of the three worlds, tried to refute Copernican astronomy and to demonstrate Indian cosmology. He called upon the famous sage Yekidō and explained the scriptural construction of the three worlds and the dangers of the Copernican theory. But Yekidō replied:

"Buddhism aims to destroy the three worlds and to establish Buddha's Holy Kingdom throughout the universe. Why do you waste your energy in the construction of the three worlds?"

Told in Nukariya Kaiten's *The Religion of the Samurai*, p. 66.

A. AS FIELD OF HIS KNOWLEDGE

Our problem is to try to understand what was meant by the term *Buddha-kṣetra* or "field of Buddha," and particularly to elucidate its meaning in terms of its background and early development. Whence did the idea probably arise? What ideas are involved in the concept when we first meet it in Buddhist scripture; what relationships or functions exercised by the Buddha are expressed by the Buddhists in metaphorical terms as his relation to a "field?" What presuppositions underlie the notion of a Buddha's field, and where in primitive doctrine may the roots of these presuppositions be sought?

Let us start our inquiry with the third question, for we must begin by asking what ideas underlie the very notion of Buddha's having a "field" of any sort. The tentative answer to this question should give us a clue as to what realms of early Buddhist thought we must explore in order

to discover the pre-history of the Buddha-kṣetra concept.

We have seen already in the introduction that the Buddha-kṣetra seems to be primarily a cosmological concept: back of all the ethical and philosophical interpretations and metaphorical elaborations which cannot be neglected in exploring its history, lie certain primary conceptions about *Buddha's relation to the world*. In these primary conceptions there inhere implications, ethical, etc., which are expanded and developed and given concrete expression in the later complex picture of the Buddha-kṣetra. We shall see how later Buddhists described Buddha's functions and relationships in concrete and picturesque imagery, but our problem now is to find out what presuppositions about his relationships and functions lie back of that later imagery.

We must ask first what notions appear in early Buddhist thought concerning any *special and peculiar province* of influence or knowledge or action on the Buddha's part. Did his followers work out any theory about a *particular scope or range* of his influence or power or knowledge? If we can find any idea of limits to his power in the sense of *specialization* as well as spatial limitation, we should be on the track of ideas of considerable importance for the development of the conception of a Buddha-field.

i. Hīnayāna Ideas of a Buddha's Scope or Range

When we search through the Pali Piṭakas for an answer to these questions we find that what appears to be the earliest notion of a Buddha's scope or range is connected not so much with the *limitation* of his powers as with the particular and peculiar province of his powers as distinguished from those of the rest of mankind. We shall see that theories about the range of a Buddha's *knowledge* were probably among the very earliest to be formulated in any consideration of the *range* or *scope* of his powers; but on the way to investigating these theories and their implications, let us see what notions we can discover in the early

literature with regard to a *Buddha's particular province* or special ability or concern.

There are two suttas in the *Sutta Nipāta*—probably one of the earliest Buddhist scriptures—in which the idea of special power, or sphere of concern or knowledge on the part of the Buddha is implied, and Buddhaghosa in commenting upon these suttas calls this special province Buddha's *visaya*.

One is the "Kasibhāradvājasutta,"¹ in commenting upon which Buddhaghosa² labels as *Buddha's visaya* his ability to digest a certain food which no one in the realms of gods or men could digest.³

The other is the "Ālavakasutta," in which a certain Yakkha propounds to the Buddha a list of questions⁴ concerning what is of most worth, how one "crosses over," what is the best life, etc.—questions which in his commentary Buddhaghosa calls Buddha's *visaya*.⁵ He probably includes the answers as well, meaning that problems such as these are the special province of the Buddhas.⁶ And in so far as the Dhamma realised and preached by the Buddhas is concerned with just these questions, we can see here in Hīnayāna thought an expression of the Dhamma-content of the Buddha's domain which will take an added significance when

¹ *Sutta Nipāta*, Uravagga Sutta 4, Tr. SBE X, 2nd part, p. 11 ff.

² *Paramatthajotikā* II, I, 4 p. 154.

³ *Sutta Nipāta*, PTS ed. p. 15; tr. p. 13-14: "No one in the world of men and gods and Māra- and Brahmā-retinues (*sabrahmake*) ... could digest this rice-milk with the exception of Tathāgata or a disciple of Tathāgata."

⁴ SBE X, 2nd part, p. 30. "How lived do they call life lived the best? ... How is one purified?" etc.

⁵ "Evam ete buddhapañhā *buddhavisayā* eva honti." *Paramatthajotikā* II, I, 10 p. 228, l. 27.

⁶ The father and mother of the questioner had, Buddhaghosa explains, learned these questions together with their answers from the Blessed One Kassapa. They are questions whose answers all Buddhas know. Cf. Childers (*Pali Dictionary*) who quotes *sub voce* *Visayo*: "te jānitum tava ca avisayo ... buddhānam eva visayo. To know them is beyond (or not) your range; it is the peculiar province of the Buddhas." Childers refers to Dh. 183 for this quotation, but it does not appear in *Dhammapāda* 183.

we come to consider similar conceptions in Mahāyāna texts.¹

In the *Atthasālinī*² Buddhaghosa calls the *province of the Buddhas* their special business of ruling with regard to faults:

“Infinite rapturous joy arises in those Bhikkhus who learn the Vinaya text and reflect that it is *the province of the Buddhas and not of others* to lay down the rule for each fault or transgression according to its gravity.”

These scholastic interpretations of the *Buddha-visaya* do not of course tell us much about early ideas, but they are useful in calling our attention to ideas implied in early scriptures which were later formulated into more clearly defined concepts of a Buddha-province. The process of development they illustrate is instructive in suggesting how the idea of the Buddha-kṣetra may have developed, particularly because the ideas are so closely related that their pre-history must coincide. The meaning of *visaya* in early Buddhist literature may be very significant for the history of the Buddha-field notion, but here Buddhaghosa helps us scarcely at all. To us the most familiar use of *visaya* is in the psychological sense of sphere or object of sense-perception (see, for instance, *Saṃyutta* v. 218). In the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, where one would expect its psychological meaning to be explained, I can find it used only once, and then³ in the interesting but not particularly psychological phrase “Māra’s domain”⁴ along with Māra’s fish-hooks and traps. More frequently in the Piṭakas is the use of *visaya* in quite a different connection—in the phrase *petavisaya*⁵ and *pettivi-*

¹ See quotations from *Karunāpuṇḍarīka* later in this chapter and the discussion of its implications.

² 11, (*The Expositor* p. 14): *dosānurūpaṃ sikkhāpadapaññāpanaṃ nāma imasmim̐ dose imasmim̐ vitikkame idaṃ nāma hoti ti paññāpanamamāññesam avisayo buddhānam eva visayo ti.*

³ *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, see 1059. *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, p. 282.

⁴ Cf. *Daśabhūmika*, M, p. 62, line 5.

⁵ *Dīgha* iii, 234; *M.* i. 73; *S.* iii. 224, etc. The psychological use of the term seems to be confined almost entirely to later texts,—*Nettipakaraṇa* and works of Buddhaghosa, (except one reference in *Saṃyutta*).

saya (realm of the petas or of the manes,)¹—significant as an illustration of the literal local and geographical connotations belonging to the word from early times.

In one standard and oft-repeated phrase, "*gocaro.... sako pettiko visayo*," the association of *visaya* with *gocara*, in the sense of sphere of application² suggests that the metaphor included an ethical meaning wider than just the application of one's *mind*:

"Brethren, what is the lawful resort (*gocara*)³ of a brother, his paternal province (*sako pettiko visayo*)? It is the four applications of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*)."⁴

¹ The Pali word has both these meanings through confusion of the Skt. *paitya viṣaya* and *pitrya viṣaya* with the word *peta* (Skt. *preta*).

² As in *Dīgha* iii. 58; "Keep to your own pastures (*gocare*), brethren, walk in the haunts where your fathers roamed (*sake pettike visaye*). If ye thus walk in them the Evil One will find no landing place, no basis of attack. It is precisely by the cultivation of good qualities that this merit grows." Note the suggestion in the last sentence that *gocara* means something like character, in which merit grows by cultivation. *Gocara bhikkhava caratha sake pettike visaye*. *Gocare bhikkhave carataṃ sake pettike visaye na lacchati Māro otārāṃ, na lacchati Māro ārammaṇaṃ. Kusalānāṃ bhikkhave Dhammānaṃ samādhāna-hetu evaṃ idam puññaṃ pavaḍḍhatīti*.

³ This is one of three kinds of *gocara* in Buddhaghosa's classification: *upanissaya gocara*—as a "sufficing condition: a good friend.... owing to whom one hears the new, purifies the old.... increases in faith, virtue, learning, self-sacrifice, wisdom."

ārakkhagocara—as a "guardian: a brother here on entering a village goes.... looking before him not further than the distance of a plough, and is well-restrained. He does not go looking at an elephant, a horse, a chariot,.... a woman, or a man...."

upanibandhagocara—as a "bond: the four applications of mindfulness...."

⁴ Quoted in *Visuddhi Magga* 19 and elsewhere from *Samyutta* XLVI, 7 [v. 146]; e. g. *Jātaka* ii. 59 and vi. 193; *Milinda* 368 (tr. II 283). In the *Milinda* the same statement is quoted in illustration of the moral that one should never give up one's *presence of mind*, that being the *home in which he dwells*. "And this, O king, has been said by the Blessed One, the god over all gods: 'And which, O Bhikshus, is the Bhikshu's resort, the realm which is his own by right? It is this, the four modes of being mindful and thoughtful (*satipaṭṭhāna*).' The association of the *satipaṭṭhānas* with the phrase "*gocara—saka pettika visaya*" seems to be familiar at least from the time of the *Piṭakas*, and is probably of long standing.

Gocara is interesting to us because of its close similarity to *khetta*, though it savors even more concretely of the soil, meaning literally, "cow's grazing" or "pasture." It is sometimes used in a purely psychological sense, practically synonymous with *visaya*, as in *Samyutta* v. 218 where both words appear. It is more familiar in the *Piṭakas* in an ethical sense as one's *sphere of conduct*, particularly in the phrase *ācāragocara-sampanna*.¹

Similar is its use in *Dhammapada* 22,² where we read of the *ariyānaṃ gocara*, rendered "range of true-aristocrats" in Mrs. Rhys Davids' recent re-translation. And in verses 92 and 93³ it appears in an interesting connection where its specific meaning is by no means easy to ascertain:

"They for whom (worldly) store is not, who understand the body's needs, *the men whose range is in the void*, th' unmarked, in liberty, as bourn of birds in air so hard it is to trace whither those men are bound."

This is important for our study, because in verses 179 and 180 we find the phrase *anantagocaram* applied to the Buddha. This must be one of the earliest suggestions of his having a "range"—so the content of the phrase should be significant. To judge from what we have seen of the early use of *gocara*, the phrase must mean something like "realm of conduct and application." The Chinese version from the *Udānavarga*⁴ seconds this interpretation by translating: "*The field of whose activity is the void*, the uncharacteristic, and solitude" in verse 93, and in 179 and 180 "*the Buddha, the field of whose activity is infinite*." (*Udānavarga* XXIX. 54, Rockhill, p. 150.)

¹ *Dīgha* i, 63; *Majjhima* i. 33; *Samyutta* v. 187; *Itivuttaka* 96.

² *Etam viśato ātva appamādaṃhi paṇḍitā appamāde pama-danti ariyānaṃ gacare ratā*, 22. PTS ed. of 1914.

³ *Yesam sannicayo natthi, ye pariññātabhojanā, suññato animitto ca vimokkho yesam gocaro, ākāse va sakuntānaṃ gati tesam durannayā*. 92. *Yassāsavaṃ parikkhīnā, āhāre ca anissito suññato animitto ca vimokkho yesam gocaro, ākāse, etc.* 93.

⁴ *Udānavarga* XXIX. 25 translated in Rockhill, *The Udānavarga from the Buddhist Canon*, p. 146.

In the S.B.E. edition of the *Dhammapada*, Max Müller's rendering of these passages gives a definitely psychological twist to *gocara*, translating in 179 "the Awakened, the Omniscient" and in 92 "who has perceived void and unconditioned freedom." This interpretation, though wandering far from literalness, may have been right in so far as Buddha's peculiar sphere of activity is predominantly his *knowing*, as we shall see in a moment.

ii. *The Range of a Buddha's Knowledge*

We have considered the use of these various words in order to try to find the earliest reachings toward any notion of Buddha's having a particular scope or range, ideas which seemd to be closely related to the notion of his having a "field." We found that the early Buddhists had no clearly defined concepts of this sort, but that ideas leading up to such formulations seemed to be implied in the use of terms like *gocara* and *visaya*. The problem of the *range of Buddha's knowledge* they did however begin to discuss relatively early; phrases referring to the omniscience of the fully-enlightened One are familiar in the early *Dhammapada* and *Suttanipāta*.

Dhammapada 353. Sabbavidū' hamasmi.

Suttanipāta 176. "the all-knowing, the wise." (*sab-bavidu sumedha*.)

344. "thou all-seeing." (*samantacakkhu*).

345. "thou all-seeing as the thousand-eyed Sakka of the gods."

And in the *Questions of King Milinda*¹ one of the principal

¹ Probably compiled, according to Rhys Davids (in the introduction to *The Questions of King Milinda* and in the Preface to *Dial. I*) "at or about the time of the Christian era," but perhaps going back to an earlier original (not earlier than the latter half of the second century B.C. when Milinda lived). It seems to be now agreed that Milinda was the Greco-Bactrian king, Menander, mentioned by Strabo and Justin and described in a list of the Greek kings of Bactria as a King of the Yonakas reigning at Sagala. See Rhys David's Introduction to his translation xviii ff. (SBE XXXV.)

"dilemmas" with regard to the Buddha is the problem of his universal knowledge. Apparently some unorthodox sects were teaching that he knew everything in one thought (*ekakṣana-cittena*). The orthodox view is explained by Nāgasena as follows: "Yes, Buddha was omniscient. But the insight of knowledge was not always and continually (consciously) present with him. The omniscience of the Blessed One was dependent on reflection." But if he did reflect he knew whatever he wanted to know (I p. 154-160. Text 102 ff.). Note that behind this answer lies the protest of developing Hīnayāna orthodoxy against any tendency toward Lokōt-taravāda.

This problem of Buddha's omniscience will prove to be of decided importance in the early history of the Buddha-kṣetra. So it is particularly interesting to find the word *khetta* given in the fourth century B.C. *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*¹ as one of the received metaphors for the "sphere of vision":

"This that is sight, the sphere of sight (*cakkhāyatanam*), the element of vision (*cakkhudhātu*), the faculty of vision (*cakkhundriyam*), this that is "a world" (*loko*), "a door" (*dvārā*), "an ocean" (*samuddo*), "lucent" (*pañḍaram*), "a field" (*khetam*),² "a basis" (*vatthum*),

¹ *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* §597. *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, p.173 ff.

² This is the only metaphorical use of *khetta* which I have been able to find before Buddhaghosa. In the *Sutta Nipāta* verses 75-79, the figure of *ploughing* is used in an ethical sense suggesting strongly that the "fruit of immortality" grows out of a field, but the word *khetta* does not appear. (The word *khetta* does appear later in this sutta, but in the sense of *pañña khetta* which certainly fails to carry out the figure of the ploughing set forth so effectively just before. The point was to develop virtue by cultivating one's own character, not to sow "roots of merit" by giving alms to another.) In implication, it would mean something like *character*, a meaning which corresponds interestingly with a similar figure in the popular Chinese *Yin Chih Wen*: "Unexpected blessings grow, as it were, in a very actual field which can be ploughed and harvested. The heart, though spiritual and mysterious, yet possesses a solid, tangible soil, which can be tilled and watered" (p. 31). "The Buddhists... will never relax their vigilant guard over the heart, which will by degrees become pure and bright, free from evil thoughts and ready to do good. This

¹etc." Mrs Rhys Davids notes that "this and the following similes will be quotations of metaphors applied to the senses in the *Sutta Piṭaka*."

This psychological use of *khetta*, considered in relation to the problem of the *limits of Buddha's knowledge*, is a more promising approach to the history of the Buddha-kṣetra than the search for unexpressed implications in such vague words as *gocara* and *visaya*, though they are useful in showing us early premonitions of the notion of his having any sort of a range or scope. The problem of his knowledge points more directly to later ideas of the Buddha-kṣetra, because the concept of his omniscience had from the very first a distinct "cosmic reference." He was not just vaguely "sabbavid," but more particularly "lokavid,"² Indeed, it seems to have been in the realm of his knowledge that Buddha's relation to the world was first discussed; in other words, his *knowing of the world* was probably the first formulated of his "cosmic relations." Because he was *completely enlightened* (*Sambuddha*) he must of course have known the *whole* world, all there was of it. All that exists comprised the object of his knowledge, his *visaya* (in the psychological sense of the word, with what practical and ethical implications we shall see further on).

In a sense this involves the notion of *limitation* which we have been looking for: though the Buddha's *powers* are limitless, still the extent of the existing world³ does set enlightenment is called their *most happy land*." (p. 35. *Open Court*, 1906, tr. Carus and Suzuki.)

¹ *vatthum* is given in the Pali Dictionary as "basis or ground, field, plot, site,"—a word nearly synonymous with *khetta* but even more literally "local."

² See e.g. *M.* i, 178; *Dīgha* iii, 76; *S.* i, 62; v. 167, 343; *A.* ii, 48.

³ But even the whole world could not bound him—he was emphatically "*Lokottara*"—particularly in view of his omniscience. In this sense he was "*lokottara*" in the very earliest Buddhist thought, before the fantasies of popular mythology grafted themselves upon the Buddha-legend and made him "*lokottara*" in more spectacular and fantastic ways. But see above p. 214, for the distinction between the orthodox conception of his omniscience and the Lokottaravādin's interpretation. See Senart, *La Légende du Bouddha*.

certain bounds to the *range* of his empirical knowing. That "range" is the whole world. (Then with the multiplication of the world-systems, speculation would be necessary to formulate more precisely the meaning of his "cosmic range," perhaps involving real spatial limitation, but we are getting ahead of our story.)

In the light of our suspicion that the *visaya* in the sense of a Buddha's field of knowledge represents perhaps the first definite notion of his having any sort of a cosmic field, it is particularly interesting to discover, in the only Hīnayāna reference to the Buddha-field which, so far as I can discover, has come down to us, the *visaya-khetta* as one of the three kinds of Buddha-khetts! The list appears in the cosmological section of Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhi Magga*, where he enumerates the three kinds:¹ the *jāti-khetta*, or birth-field, which embraces ten thousand *cakravāḷas* or worlds and² which shakes at the coming to rebirth of a Tathāgata; the *āṇā-khetta* or field of authority, which embraces a hundred thousand *kotis* (sic) of worlds, where there functions (*vattati*) the power of the various kinds of *Pirit*;³ and the *visaya-khetta* which is infinite and immeasurable, and of which it is said that as far as he may desire, there whatever the Tathāgata desires (to know), that he knows.⁴

¹ *Buddhakkhetam nāma tividham hoti: jātikkhetam, anākkhetam, visayakkhetam* ca. Tattha *jātikkhetam* dasasahassa cakkavāḷa-pariyantam hoti, yaṃ Tathāgatassa paṭisandhiggahaṇādisu kampaṭi.

Āṇākkhetam koṭisatasahassa cakkavāḷa-pariyantam, yattha Ratana-suttam Khandhaparittam, etc....ti imesaṃ parittānam ānubhāvo vattati.

Visayakkhetam anantam aparimāṇam. Yaṃ yāvataṃ vā pana ākankheyyā ti vuttam, yattha yaṃ yaṃ Tathāgato ākankhati, tam tam jānāti. (*Vis. M.* 414).

² See p. 218-219 for discussion of cosmology involved here.

³ See below, p. 244.

⁴ Hardy's version (*Manual of Buddhism*, 1860, p. 2) supports our emphasis on the meaning of *visaya* as field of knowledge, even field of perception. He sets forth the threefold classification of the "Sakwala Systems":

1. *Wisaya-Sētra*—the systems that appear to Buddha;

2. *Agnya-Sētra*—the systems (100,000 *kelas* in number) that

It seems that back of this scholastic theory of the Buddha's infinite *visaya-khetta* must lie those early speculations about his omniscience, about the infinite scope of his knowledge, which it was that peculiarly made him Buddha, i.e. "enlightened."¹

Having explored the probable background of that phase of the Buddha-ksetra complex involved in the idea of a *visaya-khetta*, we must next inquire how the Buddha's relation to this cosmic field was conceived. It may be well to know something about the nature of the world which comprised the range of his knowledge, and something about the content of his knowing. What, in other words, is implied receive the ordinances of Buddha;

3. *Jammak-Sētra*—the systems (10,000 in number) in which a Buddha may be born (between the birth in which he becomes a claimant for the Buddhahood, or a Bodhisattva, and the birth in which he attains the supremacy,) or in which the appearance of a Buddha is known, and to which the power of pirit, or priestly exorcism, extends.

Turnour's translation (in the J. As. Soc. Bengal, August 1838, p. 691) explains the *Jātikhetta* as "10,000 *chakkavalāni* (or regions to which his birthright extends) which are bounded by the *Jātikhetta* belonging to the Jāti Buddha; which is subject to do homage in this world to the Tathāgata on all occasions from the day of his being conceived in the womb of his mother." The last phrase quoted in Pali he renders: "Whatever the Tathāgata may vouchsafe, that he can accomplish."

¹ This is supported by the use of *viṣaya* in *Daśabhūmika* as the sphere of Buddha's omniscient knowledge, e.g. in the phrase *sarvajñā-jñānaviṣaya* (p. 3, 1.6). Cf p. 62, M. line 9: "Buddhajñānaviṣaya-koṣapṛāpta". See also *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Ch. Vihāra, edited with *Daśabhūmika*), p. 21, "Surpassing by the sphere of his own buddhi the range (of understanding in the wider sense) of all śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas." The word is used also in a wider sense, e.g. *Daś.* p. 8, P, where it apparently includes the sphere of the magical as well as intellectual powers of a Buddha:

A ray from Śākyamuni's *ūrṇā*-sheath illumines all the world-systems and audience-assemblies, suppresses suffering, puts down Māra-existences and manifests "the power of the varieties or forms) of a Buddha-province." A similar use occurs *Daś.* p. 16 MM, line 4, and p. 85, line 18. On p. 82, C. line 3-5, *viṣaya* seems to be used just like our 'sphere' or 'realm' in the simplest metaphorical sense: "passing beyond the realm of all worlds, . . . passing beyond the realm of the divine. . . ." Cf. *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p. 6. line 28.

in calling him "lokavid"? Buddhaghosa gives a gloss on this word which succinctly sets forth its two aspects as probably conceived from very early times:

He knows the characteristics of people—therefore he knows the world of living beings in all respects,¹ and "by his infinite Buddha-knowledge (he) has known, understood, penetrated the infinite world-systems. Thus he has known the spatial world in all respects." Hence he is called *lokavidū*.² *Vis. M.* 207 (tr. II, 238).

The "spatial world" in Buddhist cosmology of Buddhaghosa's time was vastly different from the relatively small affair in which the early Buddhists believed. Buddhaghosa can, therefore, give us no help in understanding how they conceived the world which was Buddha's field of knowledge. They almost certainly had no notion of hundreds of thousands of crores of world-systems, and they may not have believed in the existence of more than one (though the common and early Hindu belief in various heavenly worlds indicates a tendency toward pluralizing the cosmos).

One "world-system" included this *Sahā*-world with Mt. Meru in the center, encircled by the wall of mountains called *Cakkavāla* (which later came to be the term for the whole of any one such world), lighted by one sun and moon and surrounded below and above by the various hells and heavens presided over by various divinities.¹ The whole scheme

¹ For an illustration of how Buddha's all-knowledge included the karma of creatures, see the charming tale in *Aśvaghoṣa's Sūtrālamkāra* (Section 57, p. 283 ff. tr. by Huber) of how Śāriputra turned away a would-be convert as hopeless, but the Compassionate One knew that this man had a shred of good karma through once having cried "Adoration to Buddha!" when chased by a tiger. Śāriputra was not omniscient, says the *Sūtra*, and could not penetrate the nature of things, for the principle of karma is very subtle. Buddha alone understands it—

"Lui, qui est l'omniscience personnifiée,
Lui, qui est compatissant et affectueux,
Lui, le Bouddha, traverse les trois mondes
Pour chercher qu'il puisse convertir."

² *Evam anantāni cakkavālāni, anantā lokadhātuyo Bhagavā anantena Buddhāñāpāna avedi, aññāsi, paṭivijjhi, evam assa okāsaloko pi sabbathā vidito; evam pi sabbathā viditalokattā lokavidū.*

divided into three realms of desire, form, and formlessness.² Each such universe has its own four world-guardians, its own Brahmā,³ Indra (or Sakka), Māra, and all the other varieties of gods and spirits.

Such was one "triple-world," beyond which the imagination of the early Buddhists probably did not go, especially since they were supposed⁴ to reject, as futile, all discussions of the infinity or non-infinity of the universe. But cosmological discussions soon found their way into Buddhism, and their picture of the make-up of the total cosmos soon out-reached the paltry ten-thousand world-systems which seem to have stood for the whole universe in the time of the earlier *Nikāyas* and the *Jātaka*. We cannot say just when the larger round numbers came into use; by the time of the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* the Tisahassīmahāsahassī-lokadhātu—the "Thrice-a-thousand, (i.e. 1000³) Mighty Thousandfold World-System,"⁵ seems to have become standard for the inclusive cosmos. According to the *Āṅguttara*¹ a Buddha can make his voice heard throughout this latter area (a thousand-million-lokadhātus). It is this "great chiliocosm"

¹ See Przyluski, *Brahmā Sahāmpati*, J. As., July-Sept. 1924, p. 155 for an interesting presentation of the idea that in the earliest Buddhist cosmology the gods were thought of as all on one celestial level, not separated into respective heavenly realms. The dividing up and assorting of this originally "relatively homogeneous heaven" into respective domains under the sovereignty of different gods would, upon this theory, illustrate a tendency reflected also in the assigning of various regions of the universe to the sovereignty of different Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, a tendency which would have important implications for the history of the Buddha-kṣetra. But Professor Edgerton points out to me that the notion of different heavenly regions presided over by all sorts of celestial or supernatural beings, is certainly older than Buddhism in India. See *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 4, 3, 33 which mentions a Gandharva-world, Brahmā-world, Prajāpati-world, etc.

² Kāmadhātu, rūpadhātu, arūpadhātu.

³ In the same way later the Great Chiliocosm was supposed to have its Brahmā, who was called Mahā-Brahmā, as he might well be!

⁴ E.g. *Dīgha* i. 23. ⁵ M. La Vallée Poussin's article in ERE, "Cosmogony and Cosmology, Buddhist" should be consulted for this whole subject. See especially p. 137b for the identification of this "great Chiliocosm" with Buddha-kṣetra.

which is later used as the equivalent of the Buddha-kṣetra in its purely numerical cosmological use. (However many world-systems were supposed to make up the cosmos, each one, of course, has its sun and moon, its hells and heavens, its four Great Kings—Guardians of the four quarters—its Māra and Indra and Brahmā).

We shall return later to the bearing of this "growth" of the Buddhist universe upon the theory of multiple Buddhas and their Buddha-fields; for the present we are concerned with it only to make clear to ourselves as far as possible what sort of a world and how inclusive a one the early Buddhists thought of Buddha as "knowing."

But having pictured to ourselves the primitive Buddhist world-view, it becomes apparent that we have not progressed very far toward understanding "Buddha's field" or what is meant by calling the universe his "field." As a mere static object of vision it has little meaning; we must know more about his relation to it and the way it was conceived as working.

iii. *The Implications of Buddha's Knowledge of the Cosmos*

Probably the most remarkable fact about the Buddhist cosmos in its *dynamic* aspect, was the extent to which it was conceived as *interdependent* and closely knit together—whether it was thought of as embracing one lokadhātu or countless crores of them. Every part of it was linked to every other part; life in any one level was interchangeable with life in almost any other (though here as elsewhere *facilis descensus* applied); even without dying the sage could pass from realm to realm, and the ordinary person did in fact run the gamut of the many spheres of existence in the course of his repeated rebirths. The "chain" upon which it all hung together was Karma, the law of moral causation, the

¹ See *Āṅguttara* i. 227–228 (*Gradual Sayings* I, 207) for the explanation of the make-up of the larger cosmic units.

law of retribution, impersonal and automatic and hence absolutely just in assuring to each the fruit of his deeds. This law binds the world, or the worlds, together. Having understood the workings of Karma and the dependence of all existence upon this law of *spiritual causation*, one has understood the universe, however far it extends. One then knows the universe, and can control it.¹ The implications of this for Buddha's power are far-reaching. He has seen things as they are; he has understood the whole world as it is, or rather *as it works*, for the essential point of his Enlightenment is the understanding of Karma and the *universal moral causation* involved therein. And the *control* which his understanding makes possible is, as we shall see below, the *stopping* of Karma.

It is not without significance that in every version of the story it is the Twelvefold Paṭiccasamuppāda or Chain of Dependent Origination which the Buddha is said to have

¹ This applies not only to the Buddha Śākyamuni but to anyone who can achieve the requisite knowledge. And the principle of control by knowledge holds good also for lesser degrees of understanding: early in his career the Sage is expected to acquire various sorts of "supernatural" powers (called significantly the "higher knowledges," *abhijñā*):—notably clairvoyance and clair-audience (which are known picturesquely in Pali as the "deva-eye" and "deva-hearing"). At a further stage the Sage is believed to be able to cause the earth to shake by his meditations—a doctrine which may make it easier for us to understand in their Hindu as well as in their cosmic perspective the phenomenal powers of a Buddha.

To us such manifestations belong in the realm of magic and crude supernaturalism, but on the basis of Buddhist beliefs about the world they are in the deepest sense consistent with natural law, for since *spiritual* or *moral causation* is the basis of the working of the universe, the Sage is simply using this power when he practises magical feats depending on the domination of matter by mind.

All such knowledge is quite definitely practical; it is sought because it confers *power*—a purpose which seems to be characteristic of all Indian search for knowledge. To the Hindu, knowledge is most decidedly power; it is the most significant of human faculties—not as an end in itself, but as a *means of control*, as a means of attaining other practical powers. This is true of all Hindu philosophy (see *The Upaniṣads: What do they Seek, and Why?* by Franklin Edgerton in JAOS, Vol. 49, 2, p. 97-121).

revolved in his mind and "completely realised" while sitting under the Bodhi tree. (See particularly *Jātaka*, *Nidāna Kathā* p. 102.) This metaphysical doctrine about the working of things is absolutely and primarily important in Buddhism. It is as knower of this sequence that Buddha is "Knower of the World,"¹ for all that lives is subject to and dependent upon this law for its very existences.

All Dharmas are Dependent upon a Cause—that is the root-word of Primitive Buddhism, that is its basic metaphysics and theory of the universe.

The reader will remember that whatever the Paṭiccasamuppāda is quoted in Buddhist scriptures, the second and more significant part is always its statement in reverse, showing how "by the *cessation* of the saṃskāras consciousness ceases" and so on up to "the *cessation* of birth, old age, death, grief, lamentation, sorrow, misery, and despair."

In this reverse statement of the chain of causation we see the practical and ethical implications of the metaphysical theory which we have just been considering. Buddha was;

¹ Cf. *Dhammapāda* 419 where the content of the knowledge of the "Awakened" (Buddha) is described as concerned particularly with "The destruction and return of beings everywhere"—a concrete expression of the invariable sequence put in abstract terms as the cycle of rebirth of the Paṭiccasamuppāda. This phrase in the *Dhammapāda* might well be a gloss on "lokavid" which would probably be taken here in the sense of knowing the world of living creatures rather than of knowing the spatial world (see above, p. 218). But in the latter sense also, Buddha's world-knowing means his knowledge of the order of causation, and in practice "the spatial world" meant little or nothing apart from living creatures.

In astronomy, presumably, Buddha was not interested; a cold planet, if there were such a thing, would interest him even less than a cold abstract metaphysical statement. But we must remember that there were no cold planets in the Buddhist universe; Sūrya, the sun, for instance, was a living being in the chain of Karma; so also was Chandra, the moon. Hence it is perhaps meaningless to speak of Buddha's knowledge of the spatial world apart from the creatures inhabiting it.

Cf. *Dīpavaṃsa* I 69, where an uninhabited island comes into the story, and into Buddha's ken, only as a potential dwelling place for creatures.

from the beginning, not interested in pure metaphysics. The Paṭiccasamuppāda as a cold abstract statement about reality would have made little difference to him. Emancipation, Release—these were what mattered,¹ and these could be achieved only by *stopping* the workings of Karma,² (beginning as it did with ignorance and desire), and so cutting off the very roots of old age and all the other miseries that make life full of *dukkha*.

Wherever the abstract law of causation is stated, the reverse statement is emphatically stated too:

“*Given That, This Comes to be*; the rise of that makes this arise.”

“If that comes not to be, this comes not to be; *The Stopping of That Makes This Stop*.³

In the Vinaya⁴ the moral of this is pointed with peculiar insistence:

“*Whatsoever has Causally Arisen is What may be Stopped*.”

Concrete applications of this are interesting:

“Neither self-made the puppet is, nor yet

¹ Mrs. Rhys Davids to the contrary notwithstanding: She has done admirable service in emphasising the positive and in many cases joyous content of the salvation which the early Buddhists found, but we cannot follow her all the way. How far the negative phraseology is due to “monkish editing” is a far-reaching question; here we can say only that though the monks may have overemphasised the negative side of the doctrine that came down to them—stressing *retreat*—still our knowledge of contemporary Indian thought makes it seem likely that salvation, however positive its content, will have been formulated in negative terms.

² In quite another sense than the Platonic, virtue depends upon knowledge; here upon the knowledge of how to stop what is at the root of sin and evil, for the uprooting of craving depends upon an *understanding* of the chain of causation more than upon moral effort to stop wanting things. Both processes enter in, but it is interesting to note the predominantly intellectual rather than ethical *method* of achieving salvation.

³ *K. S. II, 23, 45, 46, etc. Fur. Dial, II. 17.*

⁴ *Vinaya Texts i. 146.*

By other wrought is this ill-plighted thing.
*By reason of a cause it came to be;*¹
By rupture of a cause it dies away."

"So the five aggregates, the elements,
 And the six spheres of sense, even all these,
*By reason of a cause they came to be;*²
By rupture of a cause they die away."

And again:

"Lo! when appear true doctrines to the saint
 Zealous and thoughtful, all his doubts dissolve;
He knows that all Becoming is through Cause.
 Lo! when appear true doctrines to the saint
 Zealous and thoughtful, all his doubts dissolve;
He knows the demolition of all cause."

Particularly arresting is the *cosmic* application of the Four Truths:³

"The world (*loko*) hath been thoroughly understood by the Tathāgata. From the world the Tathāgata is wholly detached.

The origin of the world hath been thoroughly understood by the Tathāgata, and it hath been cast aside by him.

The Cessation of the world hath been thoroughly understood by the Tathāgata, and it hath been realised (*sacchikaroti*) by him;

The Way leading to the Cessation of the world hath been thoroughly understood by the Tathāgata, and hath been attained by him."

We see that *understanding of the chain of causation* constitutes the heart of Buddha's knowledge, both of the world and of men; this constitutes his Dharma, his Truth: understanding in particular of *how to stop* the wheel of rebirth. This is implicit in the earliest Buddhist doctrine, but is hardly ever stated outright. In only one scripture,

¹ Hetum paṭicca sambhūtam hetubhaṅgā nirujjhati. *Saṃyutta i.* 134, § 9. 5.

² *K. S. I.* p. 169.

³ *Itivuttaka* § 112, tr. p. 131. Tr. by J. H. Moore in *Columbia Indo-Iranian Series Vol. V.* (1908).

so far as I know, is the Karma-causation basis of Buddha's knowledge and Dharma, together with its practical implications, set forth *explicitly*, and in a cosmic setting—in what might be called astronomical perspective. This one scripture is the *Karuṇā-Puṇḍarīka*, which we know only from the Tibetan, translated by Féer in the *Annales du Musée Guimet* (t. V. p. 160 ff.). The most significant portion of the text is a dialogue between Buddha and Mahābrahmā (the Hindu Creator, personified form of the First-Cause) concerning the creator of the world. Mahābrahmā had been under the illusion (common to his orthodox Hindu worshippers: the humour in this dialogue is delightful) that he had created the world, but Buddha proceeds to ask him a long and very inclusive series of embarrassing questions. The course of this inquisition thoroughly roots up the "uncriticised assumptions" of Mahābrahmā; it also contains some very interesting remarks about the relation of Buddha's Dharma (which is the Truth he realised and hence practically the same thing as the "knowledge" which they have been discussing) to the workings of Karma—particularly, of course, in suppressing them. The whole discussion is particularly relevant to our larger subject as illuminating what is meant by calling the whole cosmos "Buddha's domain." It is all so pertinent that we shall quote from it at some length.¹

"In the great thousand of three thousand world-systems² (hereafter Great Chiliocosm) Brahmā and the great Brahmā triumphant and invincible, who exercised over a thousand beings a sovereign power, said to themselves:

"It is by us that these beings have been made, by us that they have been made to appear; it is by us that the world has been created, by us...made to appear.'"

"When the Brahmās and Mahābrahmā and the Lokapālas and Maheçvaras observed that their respective

¹ *Annales du Musée Guimet*, t. V. p. 160 ff.

² For the make-up of this cosmic unit, see note on p. 219.

realms were plunged in darkness by the power of Buddha (because he was about to go into Nirvāṇa) they were grieved. Then Mahābrahmā asked himself what this meant; he looked over the great chiliocosm and said to himself:

“Who is the creator, the Lord, the all-powerful master of this great chiliocosm? The Tathāgata, Arhat, Buddha, perfectly accomplished (in knowledge) has arrived today at Nirvāṇa; for what reason do these incomprehensible transformations, such prodigies, take place? It is surely the mark of his Nirvāṇa; it is his power which has produced all these manifestations.’ So Mahābrahmā with his escort of numerous Brahmās, afflicted in his heart, hurried to where Buddha was, revered the Buddha, and asked for instruction as to how he should conduct himself and what he should learn. Buddha replied:

“‘Brahmā, at this moment you triumph over all.... you know all, you rule over a thousand beings—[or worlds]: well! if I were to say that it is by me that living beings have been made to appear, by me that the world was created.... would this proposition be true?’

“Brahmā replied: ‘It is true, Bhagavat; it is true, Sugata.’

“Buddha said: ‘Brahmā, and you—by whom were you created?’

And the great Brahmā replied absolutely nothing, not a sole word, and Bhagavata added: ‘At the time of the fire caused by the end of the Kalpa, when the great chiliocosm was consumed, entirely consumed, consumed to being utterly, totally and completely, when all we reduced to being nothing more than a cinder, at that time.... was that phenomenon your work, Brahmā, and these transformations, were they your work?’

“Brahmā replied: ‘No, Bhagavat.’

“Bhagavat asked: ‘Well! this earth which serves as a support for the mass of waters, while the waters support the wind, the wind supports the heaven, and while at the top at a height of 68,000 yojanas it all stays up without falling!—what do you think of all that? Is it you who have created that....?’

“Brahmā replied, ‘No, Blessed One.’

“Bhagavat returned: ‘Brahmā, and the incomparable

realms of the sun and of the moon, in which the gods dwell in majesty; these majestic and incomparable realms of the gods, what do you think of their apparition, when all was in the void? Brahmā, was it by you that these things were created and made to appear, by you that they were endowed with their properties and their virtues?’

“Brahmā replied: ‘No, blessed one.’

“Bhagavat returned: ‘And the spring, the summer, the autumn, the winter, the end of winter, the spring, these seasons, what do you think of them? [— etc.].... water, mirrors, reflections, moon, sun, stars, Āśvakaś, etc., earth, mountains, rivers, an Indra, a Brahmā, the Lokapālas, men and beings not human, voices and sounds, and their echoes, perceptions and feelings in dreams, the fears and miseries of beings....[etc.]....And the good and bad sides of life....diseases of various sorts.... hunger, and deserts and mirage and the middle Kalpa.... and the various griefs resulting from separation from loved ones....is it you by whom these were created?’

“ ‘Brahmā, are there not also various kinds of moral and immoral acts on the part of living beings, their liability to suffering, hell, animal birth, the Yama-world, *the chain of divine and human manifestations which proceed from a cause....bad actions....desires....* and this law of the world, whose working is so disgraceful in all the world-systems and which consists in birth, old age, discontent, unhappiness, the law in virtue of which all changes, all passes,....the law by virtue of which friendship and all joys are changed into their opposites.... these things again, Brahmā, is it you who have caused them all to appear?’

“ ‘And ignorance, laziness....whose presence causes people to surrender themselves to passion, to attachment, to hate, to folly, and which causes the accumulation of the fruits of one’s deeds to pile up—and the five phases by which one passes (from this life to another)—birth, death, departure, appearance, perishing....and the circle of the future which ever grows and where revolves the world with Brahmā and the gods, creatures and ascetics, like a conjured web, like a muddled ball of thread, this circle in perpetual movement, by which one passes from

this world to the other, and from the other world to this; the ignorance produced by this circular notion, these things, what do you think of them? Was it you who created them?’

“‘No, Blessed One.’

“‘Very well, why did you have this thought: “it is by me that the world has been created”?’

“‘Blessed One, I had no sense: I have always kept the notions that I have arrived at and have not rejected them—so I am in error. In fine, Blessed One, since I have never heard in a consecutive fashion the discipline of the Dharma preached by the Tathāgata, I said to myself that it was by me that these beings had been created.... And now I ask the blessed Tathāgata concerning the true and precise meaning of these matters.’

“‘It is by Karma that the world has been created.... made to appear; by Karma that beings have been created; it is from Karma, arising from Karma as a cause that the distinctions (of being) come to be.

“‘And why so? From ignorance arise the saṃskāras, from the saṃskāras consciousness, etc. Thus is produced this great mass of suffering.... This being so, Brahmā, if one suppresses ignorance, one suppresses all the rest—this great mass of suffering.... and the intermediates. Brahmā, when Karma and Dharma are mixed with each other, beings are manifested and produced; *when Karma and the Law are not mixed, beings are not produced*; then nothing is produced, then there is no longer one who acts or one who provokes action.... Brahmā, *it is thus that the Karma of this world disappears*, that natural corruption disappears, that sorrow disappears (to give place to) the pacification of sorrow, (to deliverance, to absolute repose, to Nirvāṇa. Yes, Brahmā, everything which is Karma is thus used up (épuisé); everything which is moral corruption is taken away, all that is suffering is appeared, all that is sickness is stopped; it is then complete Nirvāṇa. *And all this exists by the power of the Buddhas*; it is by the properties and virtues conferred by the Buddhas that the Law itself, this Law has appeared.

“‘Why so? You will say. Brahmā, when the blessed do not appear, such a teaching of the Law does not appear.

When the blessed Buddhas appear in the world, then, in order to give calm, the categories of the Law are completely taught, so profound, which scintillate in their depth, difficult to understand and to remember. So, in hearing it, beings subject to the law of birth, old age, etc., attain to complete freedom from birth, etc.

“ ‘Yes, *Brahmā*, it is thus; accordingly all component things¹ (or the *saṃskāras*) are like an image, none is eternal, they are fluctuating and changing....they perish and undergo the law of change. That, *Brahmā*, is what the Buddhas teach....such are the properties and virtues (communicated by) the Buddhas. Even when the blessed Buddhas have entered into complete *Nirvāṇa*² and when their law is in the decline, it is still thus: all the components are like a reflected image; such is the principle; it is in this that their property and their virtue consist....It is *because the Tathāgatas know* that all the *saṃskāras* are like a dream....are without duration and subject to the law of change, *it is for that reason that the Tathāgatas teach* that every component thing is nothing but a dream, etc.

“ ‘When one has been instructed on this point....when one has unravelled the characteristic signs, by these evident and obvious signs of *causes and consequences* one grasps the principle that the *saṃskāras* are without duration and like a dream, etc.

“ ‘Thus wise and learned men, recognising that things do not endure, become sad, and as a result of considering causes and consequences will leave their home and wander as religious mendicants....and will obtain Bodhi. Having seen in the water the disc of the moon...., whether the Tathāgata has taught them or whether some other teacher than the Tathāgata, having realised by their own intelligence that the *saṃskāras* are like a dream, etc....they will leave home and....will obtain the fruit of *Āraṃbhā*...*Sakṛdāgāmi*...*Bodhisattva*...the Greater Vehicle....

¹ On the *Saṃskṛta dharmas*—see p. 231.

² Cf. *Samyutta* ii. 24. K. S. II. p. 21: “Whether....there be an arising of Tathāgatas, or whether there be no such arising, this nature of things just (*eva*?) stands, this causal status, this causal orderliness, this relatedness of this to that.”

“ ‘Brahmā, is it thus that one must understand what are the properties and virtues of the Buddhas: Brahmā, *that by which* creatures are wise, *that by which* one comes to say that the saṃskṛtas . . . are like a dream, etc. . . . so that having seen these signs one comes to be plunged in the greatest misery, *that is the domain of the Buddhas*, that is the property and the virtue of the Buddha. Born from a previous Karma and former actions, beings, by virtue of a pre-existing cause, must come to complete maturity; it is that which the law proclaims. When one has heard this word, one states that the saṃskṛtas are like a dream, etc. . . . ; then one does homage to the Tathāgata, one arrives at the perfect law. The beings who have learned in the society of the blessed Buddhas to practise purity, or who in leaving home have come to grasp completely the bases of the teaching, they also, by this ‘*enchainment*’ of *causes and effects*, say to themselves: the saṃskṛtas are suffering, they perish . . . etc. Coming to reason in this fashion, believing *because of this series of causes and effects*, leaving home, etc., even although no blessed Buddhas had appeared in the world, nevertheless, thanks to the power and properties and virtues (communicated by) the Buddha, thanks to the roots of merit produced toward the Buddha, will come to obtain Bodhi. Brahmā, it is by such deductions and thus that one must know that the *domain of Buddha* exists. Brahmā, this great chiliocosm, *Belonging to the Buddha, is the domain of Buddha.*’ ”

Having entrusted it to Brahmā he tells him to follow the road of virtue and to have an understanding with Maitreya as he has had with him—Maitreya the compassionate who is to rule over the great chiliocosm by the Law as the present Buddha has done. “ ‘Do you then, see to it that nothing shall be interrupted—neither these Ways of merit [“*chemins*” in the French translation] nor the Law of Buddha, the Dharma, the Order. And why? As long as the rule of virtue shall be perpetuated thus without interruption, the rule of Indra, Brahmā, the Lokapālas, etc. . . . will not be interrupted. Consequently, Brahmā, *this great thousand of three-thousand world-systems, the field of Buddha, Yes, of Buddha*, I entrust it to you, Brahmā.’ ”

So the world is Buddha's domain and belongs to the Buddha—but in precisely what sense? If it is only *extinction* of the ordinary world which his Law “produces” what is left to be his domain? What the Buddhas teach is, clearly, *cessation* of the cycle created by Karma, extinction of the pernicious “determinations” made to appear by Karma; but the logical result of this cessation would be a complete denuding of the world: is it this bare (and to us barren, though sorrowless) universe which is the Buddha's domain? Three questions should help to clarify our perplexity:

What is the content, if any, of what remains when Karma has been used up?

What is the relation of this residue to the elements of existence in the ordinary world?

And, finally, what are the full implications of Dharma as here used?

First, as to what remains over when Karma has been “used up.” This question must be considered concomitantly with the second one, for obviously if there are any factors in the world not dependent upon Karma, it is they which will survive when Karma has been utterly extinguished. For a formal answer to this question we must turn to technical Buddhist metaphysics. In the standard list of seventy-five dharma in the *Abhidharma Kośa*, seventy-two are *saṃskṛta*—“composed”—put together (hence liable to change and dissolution); three are *asaṃskṛta*—non-component, not subject to change and hence eternal. These three are *ākāśa* and the two kinds of *nirodha*.

This classification does little more than give us the formal background for our problem, leaving untouched the eternal question of the positive or negative character of Nirvāṇa, an issue which we have touched upon in our first question. We may be able to shed some light upon it if we approach it from the angle of our second query, asking what exists (besides the Karmic chain) in the ordinary state of things. Now our text states that salvation consists in

the separation of Dharma and Karma, i.e. Dharma must have been there all the time! and Dharma will remain when Karma has been extinguished. Then Dharma must be synonymous with the apparently negative concepts: Nirvāṇa, pacification, extinction, etc. But Dharma has a decidedly positive content. Dharma is the one thing that is real, in fact, for the saṃskṛtas (as we are reminded almost *ad nauseam*!) are like dreams and reflected images and echoes. Observe, however, that it is *not* said that the saṃskṛtas are entirely unreal, but only that they are as echoes, images, dreams—figures which imply the existence of some Reality to be dreamed and echoed and reflected. This sounds extraordinarily like the familiar language of Hindu thought, according to which the shifting wheel of birth and death, due to the workings of Karma, is but the illusory reflection of the one Imperishable Reality which is Brahman.

It is extremely interesting to find these common Hindu ideas implied in this Buddhist text, particularly for their significance in the development of the Mahāyāna. It has long been recognised that the Mahāyāna represents in large measure the re-absorption of Hindu ideas into Buddhism, but texts like this, illustrating intermediary stages in the process, are not often discovered. Particularly significant are the ideas about the Dharma implied in the *Karuṇā-Puṇḍarīka*, for the notion of Dharma as the Reality underlying shifting phenomena and surviving their dissolution contains all the elements of the Dharmakāya doctrine¹ though this doctrine seems not to have been formulated at the time of the *Karuṇā-Puṇḍarīka*.

Most significant for future doctrine is the further statement that this cosmic Dharma "*exists by the power of the Buddhas: It is by the properties and virtues conferred by the Buddhas that this Law itself, this Law has appeared.*"

¹ For further discussion of this doctrine see Chapter IV and Appendices. Note how the phrase "of the Buddhas" suggests a reaching toward the notion of a Buddha-principle in the universe.

The Buddhas are the ultimate basis of what is Real in the universe. This is the profound meaning which is implied in the *Karuṇāpundarikā* in calling this great thousand of three thousand world-systems the domain of Buddha, the field of Buddha.

This belief involves assumptions about the relation of Buddha to the universe which go far deeper into metaphysics than the Hīnayāna belief in the world as object of his knowledge. There he was set over against the world as its knower; here "the Buddhas" are part of the fundamental Reality of the world itself, or rather the world is part of their Reality. The world belongs to them.

Our third question on the full implications of Dharma has been partially elucidated in the discussion of the other two. It remains to remind ourselves of its more limited use as the *Teaching* of the Buddhas,—the Truth about the universe which they realised. Even in this sense Dharma is ultimately identified with cosmic law, as suggested in the following picturesque statement of the dependability of Buddha's "word," comparing it with the most regular and dependable sequences in the realm of "natural causation":¹

120. "As a clod cast into the air doth surely fall to the ground,
So the word of the glorious Buddhas is sure and everlasting.
121. "As the death of all mortals is sure and constant,
So the word of the glorious Buddhas is sure and everlasting.

¹ Cf. *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabharāja Sūtra* (Śikṣ. 174. tr. 170) where the Word of the Buddhas is said to be even more dependable than nature:

"Yonder sun and moon, so mighty and strong, might
fall to earth;
Sumeru king of mountains might move from his place.
But the word of the Buddhas could not fail."

The teachings of the Buddha seem to be synonymous in this passage with the profound *Buddha-gocara*:

122. "As the rising of the sun is certain when night has faded,
So the word of the glorious Buddhas is sure and everlasting.
123. "As the roaring of a lion who has left his den is certain,
So the word of the glorious Buddhas is sure and everlasting.
124. "As the delivery of women with child is certain,
So the word of the glorious Buddhas is sure and everlasting."¹

The idea of Dharma as the *way* to emancipation, we have seen in studying the practical implications of Buddha's knowledge, how understanding of the causal chain is necessary for release. The *understanding* is, of course, Dharma. As we read in the *Karuṇā-Puṇḍarīka*:

"That by which creatures are wise, that by which they realise that all saṃskṛta are like nothing but a dream," etc.—"that is the domain of the Buddhas."

It is interesting to find this idea in a relatively early Hīnayāna work—the *Samyutta*—where the conception of the reality of the world being based or found upon the Buddha is expressed in a positive but quite abstract form:

"For us, Lord, things have the Exalted One as their roots, their guide, their resort."² (KS II. 133)

This conception is clearly not confined to the Mahāyāna. Its roots go back much earlier, as we have just seen; but in the Mahāyāna this conviction was given concrete form in the series of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who represented—to use the term made popular by Professor Whitehead—a "concrecence" in personal form of the eternal Buddha-

¹ *Jātaka* tr. p. 18. This and other passages quoted from the *Nidāna-kathā* are from Rhys Davids' translation in *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Vol. I.

² *Bhagavanimūlakā* no bhaṇte dhammā bhagavannettikā bhagavampatisaraṇā. (S. ii. 198, xvi, 3, 5.)

principle which is the basic reality of the universe and which is ever active in the world bringing creatures to enlightenment.

B. AS SPHERE OF HIS BENEVOLENT INFLUENCE

This magnificent Buddhist faith in the essential Buddha-ness of "things"—this confidence that the fundamental reality or "nature of things" is working toward universal enlightenment,¹ must have given great dignity and courage to man's struggle for full realisation of the truth. In the light of this belief we can better sense how the occasional "concrecence" of this universal Buddha-principle is in the fullest sense a cosmic event: cosmic in its *cause*, since it arises from the cosmic Enlightenment-nature; cosmic in its *result*, in that it forwards by concrete teaching and preaching the enlightening of creatures. It is somewhat surprising to us to realise how literally the appearance of a Buddha is thought of as a cosmic event; how it is classed, for instance, with the destruction of world-systems in the "Great Proclamations," as told in the Avidūre Nidāna of the *Nidāna Kathā* of the *Jātaka*:²

"It was when the Bodisat was thus dwelling in the city of Delight, that the so-called 'Buddha proclamation' took place. For three such 'Proclamations' (*Halāhalan*) take place on earth. These are the three: When they realise that at the end of a hundred thousand years a new dispensation will begin, the angels called Lokabyūha, with their hair flying and dishevelled, with weeping faces, wiping away their tears with their hands, clad in red garments, and with their clothes all in disorder, wander among men, and make proclamation, saying,

"Friends, one hundred thousand years from now there will be a new dispensation; this system of worlds will be destroyed; even the mighty ocean will dry up; this great earth, with Sineru [sic.] the monarch of moun-

¹ Though the enlightenment does involve first a negative cessation of the natural world.

² Rhys Davids tr. p. 58-59. *Jātaka* I, p. 47-48 in Fausböll's edition.

tains, will be burned up and destroyed; and the whole world up to the realms of the immaterial angels, will pass away. Therefore, O friends, do mercy, live in kindness, and sympathy, and peace, cherish your mothers, support your fathers, honour the elders in your tribes.¹ This is called the proclamation of a new Age (*Kappahalāhanan*.)

"Again when they realise that at the end of a thousand years an omniscient Buddha will appear on earth, the angel-guardians of the world (*lokapāladevatā*) go from place to place and make proclamation, saying, 'Friends, at the end of a thousand years from this time a Buddha will appear on earth.' This is called the proclamation of a Buddha (*Buddha-halāhanan*)."²

It is particularly because of the tremendous significance for the cosmos in terms of the enlightenment to result from it, that the coming to birth of a Buddha is welcomed with such manifestations of joy on the part of all creatures. So the *Suddha* angels are declared in *Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita* to have rejoiced at the birth of Buddha "with no selfish or partial joy, but for the sake of religion,—because creation was now to obtain perfect release." (P. 297 of Beal's tr.)³

Not only creatures but the very earth itself participates in the cosmic joy. As we read in the *Jātaka* (*Nidānakathā*—tr. p. 64):

"Now at the moment when the future Buddha made himself incarnate in his mother's womb, the constituent elements of the ten thousand world-systems quaked, and trembled, and were shaken violently."

If we had not been warned beforehand, we might have expected that only one *cakkavāla*, that in which the Buddha actually appeared, would shake at his arrival, but we re-

¹ Note the simple pre-Buddhist tribal morality inculcated here! The *Buddha-halāhanan* would seem to have been tacked on to an old doctrine.

² The third kind of proclamation is the *cakkavattihalāhanan* or proclamation of a universal-emperor.

³ In *The World's Great Classics*, ed. Dwight, Stoddard, Marsh, etc. Volume entitled *Sacred Books of the East*.

member that according to Buddhaghosa even the birthfield, the *Jāti-khetta*, which shakes at the coming to rebirth of a Buddha, embraces ten thousand world-systems. But it will be noticed that "the ten thousand world-systems" seems to mean something rather different in Buddhaghosa from what it means in the *Jātaka*. In the *Visuddhi Magga* it is obviously a relatively small group—a sort of aggregate unit—in a cosmos consisting of infinite world-systems. In the *Jātaka* it is quite otherwise. There the phrase the "ten thousand world-systems" seems quite clearly to cover the whole cosmos. I have not found anywhere in the *Jātaka* any mention of more than ten thousand *lokadhātus* or *cakkavālas* as making up the cosmos, and the use of the phrase in the quoted passage from the *Nidāna Kathā* and throughout the *Jātaka* makes it seem evident to me that this was a round number signifying the whole of the universe. It follows then that the compiler or authors of the *Jātaka* thought of the *whole universe* as shaking at the appearance of a Buddha. Their cosmos included 10,000 world-systems,—and all 10,000 shook; the whole cosmic scheme naturally joined in the general rejoicing. Why then does Buddhaghosa, whose cosmos includes crores of world-systems, limit the earthquaking to 10,000 worlds—a mere infinitesimal section of the grand cosmos which had by his time come to be standard even in Hīnayāna orthodoxy?

The conjecture seems to me unavoidable that from the time when "the ten thousand world systems" meant the total universe, some standard phrases about the shaking of the ten thousand *cakkavālas* at the birth of Buddha¹ had

¹ Standardization of "jāti-khetta" as equivalent to 10,000 world-systems (or 10 chiliocosms) in a purely numerical sense is shown in *Paramatthadīpāni* (Petavatthu Commentary, by Dhammapāla) III, 138: "The divinities from 10 *lokadhātus* having assembled," it is said, "from *jātikhetta*s so called, (that is) from 10,000 *cakkavālas* (literally from 10 "thousand-cakkavālas" or chiliocosms), the gods of the realms of desire and the *Brahmā*-divinities," etc. *Dasasu lokadhātusu sannipatitvāna devatā ti jātikhettaṣaṇṇitesu dasasu Cakkavālasahassesu kāmāvacaradevatā brahmādevatāca....*

been imprinting themselves upon the tenacious memories of Buddhist monks, who did not always ponder deeply the meaning of the rigamaroles which they passed on into oral tradition (than which no form of orthodoxy is more conservative). Thus in later days when the Buddhist cosmos had expanded, there will still have survived the hoary phrase about ten thousand cakkavālas shaking at Buddha's birth! It was never the way of Buddhism to reject old and apparently inconsistent traditions—it kept them all, giving them if necessary new meanings. So Buddhaghosa, having probably heard in his youth this old tradition that ten thousand world-systems comprise the area—or “field”—which shakes at Buddha's birth, not realising how the contents of the universe had “grown” since the time when that old tradition first took root, will have fitted the phrase as he knew it into his scheme, with the result that we have seen above.

The shaking of these ten thousand worlds was only the beginning of the mighty cosmic éclat which heralded the Buddha's incarnation:¹

“The Thirty-two Good Omens also were made manifest. In the ten thousand world-systems an immeasurable light appeared. The blind received their sight (as if from very longing to behold this his glory). The deaf heard the noise. The dumb spake one with another. The crooked became straight. The lame walked. All prisoners were freed from their bonds and chains. In each hell the fire was extinguished. The hungry ghosts received food and drink. The wild animals ceased to be afraid. The illness of all who were sick was allayed. All men began to speak kindly. Horses neighed, and elephants trumpeted gently. All musical instruments gave forth each its note, though none played upon them. Bracelets and other ornaments jingled of themselves. All the heavens became clear. A cool soft breeze wafted pleasantly for all. Rain fell out of due season. Water, welling up from the very earth, overflowed. The birds forsook their flight on high.

¹ Cf. the expectations of a reign of kindliness and cosmic bloom at the birth of a divine child, expressed in Vergil's Messianic (IVth) Eclogue and in Deutero-Isaiah.

The rivers stayed their waters' flow. The waters of the mighty ocean became fresh. Everywhere the earth was covered with lotuses of every colour. All flowers blossomed on land and in water.... The ten-thousand world-systems revolved, and rushed as close together as a bunch of gathered flowers; and became as it were a woven wreath of worlds, as sweet-smelling and resplendent as a mass of garlands, or as a sacred altar decked with flowers." (*Jātaka, Nidānakathā* tr. p. 64.)

Now this cosmic *éclat* cannot, obviously, be thought of as entirely a *conscious* reaction to the appearance of a Buddha: it is rather the almost automatic reaction of all things to his beneficent influence. Not only is he the one who is to realise the way to emancipation; not only will he proclaim that way "for the welfare of gods and men," but he irradiates such a beneficent influence that within its range evil ceases *now*, and creatures become benevolent. It is by virtue of Buddha's Dharma that men learn how, consciously, to overcome hate and delusion and death, and it is only a slight extension of this belief, in mythological garb, to say that at his mere coming to birth these miseries are temporarily, as it were in anticipation, suppressed. Even at the *prophecy* of his future attainment of Buddhahood similar miracles take place—foretastes for a day of what can be accomplished for ever with the knowledge of his Law:

"All flowers blossom on land and sea,
This day they all have bloomed, verily thou shalt be Buddha.

"In hell the fires of ten thousand worlds die out,
This day these fires are quenched, verily thou shalt be Buddha.

"Then diseases are dispelled and hunger ceases,
This day these things are seen, verily thou shalt be Buddha.

"Then Desire wastes away, Hate and Folly perish,
This day all these are dispelled, verily thou shalt be Buddha.

"Then walls, and doors, and rocks are no impediment,
This day they have melted into air, verily thou shalt be
Buddha.

"At that moment death and birth do not take place,
This day these things are seen, verily thou shalt be Bud-
dha." (*Nidānakathā* § 91-116, *Jātaka*, tr. p. 16-17).

It is Buddha's Dharma which makes a Utopia possible at all, and so even the anticipation of his Enlightenment causes the world to appear as a Utopia for a short space of time; and his first physical appearance on earth in his mother's womb starts the beneficent influences working. These fanciful descriptions of cosmic *éclat* express in mythological form what the coming of Buddha means to the world; but the mythological form was probably not consciously elaborated by adoring Buddhists. It represents, rather, a quite literal belief in the possibility of what we should call magical inversions of the natural order of things, but which to the Buddhists seem quite rational and explicable within the total scheme of things because the appearance of a Buddha is a sort of irruption of the *spiritual power* which is incalculably superior to matter and the ordinary modifications of matter. It is then in the deepest sense "natural" that wonders should occur in the physical world at the appearance of a Being who is absolutely without equal among gods or men. He incarnates the true Reality of the world; is it then strange that the world should alter its ordinary course when he appears in it? There is in all common humanity a tendency to build up myth around the birth of its gods and to express the greatness of the occasion by a cosmic *éclat* and inversion of normal order: the Buddhists simply have a better metaphysical basis for this sort of myth than have other religions which have done just the same thing. The reader may remember the story (charmingly retold by Selma Lagerlöf in her "Christ Legends") of how wild animals and even spears and arrows refused to do any injury on the night of Christ's birth. This tale illus-

trates almost exactly the same half-magical notion of the benevolent influence of the Great Being—thought of often literally as a sort of physical emanation.

This “range of benevolent influence” expressed in the *jāti-* and also, as we shall see, in the *āṇā-khetta*, is quite different from the range of the Buddha’s knowledge which we considered first (and which was probably the first kind of “field” he was thought of as having). The *visaya-khetta* represents an abstract and intellectual relationship to the world, common to all the Buddhas and including all the known universe with its one or ten or infinite world-systems. The “range of beneficent influence” on the contrary represents a *concrete*, almost physical (really spiritual, due to beneficent moral or spiritual causation, but thought of as a physical) relationship of a *particular Buddha* to a *limited range of world-systems*. The personal presence of a Buddha (somewhere within ten thousand world-system!) is indispensable to this kind of influence, whereas, as stated in the *Karuṇā-Puṇḍarīka*,¹ “even when the blessed Buddhas are entered into complete Nirvāṇa and their Law is in the decline, it is *still* thus in this matter: all component things are like a reflected image; such is the principle; it is in this that their property and their virtue consist”—that is, the whole universe is still in an intellectual and metaphysical sense the *domain of the Buddhas* in that it is truly represented by their Dharma which alone leads to the cessation of ill and to the attainment of Nirvāṇa. Quite otherwise with the sphere of a Buddha’s beneficent influence: when he disappears it is overcome by grief:²

“Dans le temps où le Tathāgata vint de se coucher
....., en ce temps-là dans le grand millier de trois mille
régions du monde les arbres, les herbes, les branches des
arbres, les bois, les forêts, tout autant qu’il y en a, se
tournant du côté où s’accomplisse le Nirvāṇa du Tathā-

¹ See above, page 229. Based on *Āṅguttara* i, 286, § 134. (*Gradual Sayings*, I, 264–265.)

² *Karuṇā-Puṇḍarīka*, tr. Féer, Musée Guimet Annales t. V. p. 160.

gata, s'inclinèrent profondément avec empressement et respect, et se tournèrent vers lui en se penchant.

"Dans le grand millier de trois mille régions du monde, les fleuves, les cours d'eau, les citernes, les lacs, les étangs, les sources, les réservoirs, les lotus rouges qui suivent le courant, tout autant qu'il y en a, bénis (Tib. "byin" corresponding to Skt. adhiṣṭhāna) et doués par la puissance du Bouddha, cessèrent de couler... la lumière du soleil et de la lune, des étoiles, des pierres précieuses, du feu, les vers luisant, toutes les choses qui ont l'éclat, tout cela par la puissance du Bouddha cessa d'être visible et de briller; tout perdit sa clarté, sa magnificence et sa splendeur."

This is but a mythological clothing of the Buddhist feeling that all the splendor of the world has vanished with the death of the Tathāgata.... In Aśvaghosa's *Buddhacarita* the same feeling is beautifully expressed in its philosophical and cosmic perspective but quite without entering any realm of supernatural or magic:

"This world was everywhere asleep, when Buddha setting forth his law caused it to awake; but now he has entered on the mighty calm, and all is finished in an unending sleep. For man's sake he had raised the standard of his law, and now, in a moment, it has fallen; the sun of Tathāgata's wisdom spreading abroad the lustre of its 'great awakening,' increasing ever more and more in glory, spreading abroad the thousand rays of highest knowledge, scattering and destroying all the gloom of earth, why has the darkness great come back again? His unequalled wisdom lightening the three worlds, giving eyes that all the world might see, now suddenly the world is blind again, bewildered, ignorant of the way; in a moment fallen the bridge of truth that spanned the rolling stream of birth and death, the swelling flood of lust and rage and doubt, and all flesh overwhelmed therein, forever lost." (S. Beal tr., op. cit. p. 449.)

The positive reaction to Buddha's appearance—i.e., the positive side of his influence upon the world—was probably believed in more literally than the abnormal manifestations

at his death, for these latter are little more than a fanciful or metaphorical garb for deep grief and loss, while, as we suggested above, belief in the cosmic *éclat* at Buddha's birth contains magical as well as metaphorical elements which lie deep in the undug history of human thinking. The magical element—that is, the belief is a sort of *physical influence* irradiated from the Buddha's person, is illustrated significantly in the description of what happens when Buddha enters a city. On a small scale there occurs an *éclat* and universal benevolence similar to what happened in the ten thousand world-systems when Buddha first appeared in them!

“And thus, being arrived at the city, he touched with his foot the threshold of the gate. Immediately the earth trembled six times.”

(Verses by the reciter): “The earth which has the ocean for its wall as well as the mountains and cities, everything everywhere leaped and shook when the MUNI had touched the doorsill with his foot. When he enters thus into the city, men and women obtain the pure faith; in the city everything transforms itself like the waves of the sea when the wind blows: everything gives forth such a harmonious sound as had never been known in the world before. When the Buddha entered the city, the hills became level; there was no more gravel or rubbish; thorns and ordure disappeared entirely from the earth; the blind saw, the deaf heard, the mute spoke. The envious changed their ways, the foolish became sensible, the poor became enriched; the sick were cured; all the instruments of music resounded without being played.... The light which the Buddha projects radiates into the world like a hundred suns; it illumines everything within and without with a clarity like the colour of gold. The light which the Buddha spreads about eclipses the sun and moon. Radiating on creatures, it refreshes them and delights them in great measure; just as when one waves sandal-wood over the fevered, there is not one of them who is not satisfied (apaisé) with it.”¹

¹ *Açokāvadāna*: A-yu-Wang Tchouan, *Avadāna de la Terre*, (cf. *Divyāvadāna* p. 364–365) from J. Przyluski, *Le Légende de l'Empereur*

What the first appearance of the Buddha did to the whole world, his entry into a particular city does to the powers of nature and to the human beings therein. This seems to imply a very literal and *spatial* notion of the Buddha's influence, which is apparently thought of as pervading a certain area about his person.

We are reminded of primitive ideas of influence as a sort of physical emanation which is the endowment of beings more highly empowered than their fellows with Mana, or powers of black magic. Such ideas are closely bound up with the notion of *moral causation* which we found centrally important in the Buddhist theory of the world. We shall continue to find in Buddhist thought examples of this kind of primitive thinking.

This really magical notion of a physical sphere of beneficent influence seems to lie back of the Buddhist concept of Pirit, which is significant for our study because Buddhaghosa's second kind of khetta—the Ānā-khetta—(which embraced 100,000 koṭis of cakkavālas) was characterised as the realm within which functioned the power of the various *Parittās*. Now *parittā* is a "warding-charm" or protection—a way of keeping off evil by the exercise of benevolence combined with a formula or some magic object.¹

And the benevolence is thought of as belonging not to the person in danger but to the Buddha, as is shown convincingly by the Canda Pirit Sutta from the *Samyutta* (translated by Gogerly in his interesting section on Pirit in "*Ceylon Buddhism*" and *K. S. I*, 71). When the moon is seized by Rāhu (the demon of Eclipse), she takes refuge in the Buddha as "conquering" and "free from evil." Buddha thereupon addresses Rāhu:

Açoka dans les Textes Indiens et Chinois. (Musée Guimet Annales, t. 32) p. 225-226. Cf. Ch. II, Avadāna du Roi Açoka, for what happens when Buddha touches the earth with his foot. See also *Vimalakīrti* quotation on last page of chapter IV.

¹ Which works like our rabbit's foot, or the Italian crooked bow

“Rāhu! Canda has taken refuge in the holy Tathāgata. Release Canda! Buddha compassionates the world!”

If he had not released Canda, the text tells us, Rāhu's head would have split.

In the *Milinda* (II, 215. text 152) the results of the use of Parittā are set forth in language reminding us of what happens at the Buddha's birth: Snakes won't bite,¹ robbers won't harm, etc.

“When Pirit has been said over a man, a snake, ready to bite, will not bite him, but close its jaws—the club which robbers hold aloft to strike him will never strike; they will let it drop, and treat him kindly—the enraged elephant rushing at him will suddenly stop—the burning fiery conflagration surging towards him will die out—the malignant poison he has eaten will become harmless, and turn to food—assassins who have come to slay him will become as the slaves who wait upon him—and the trap into which he has trodden will hold him not.”

A parittā fails through the obstructions of Karma, or of unbelief—another reminder of Buddhist belief in moral causation.

Buddhaghosa apparently believed that around the Buddha to the distance of so many world-systems there is a pervading moral force which protects those who take refuge in it. The power of Pirit is effective within that region, but not outside it. The power seems to rest in the beneficent influence of Buddha, which is ready as it were to be crystallised upon call.² It pervades 100,000 koṭis of world—to ward off the evil eye, though our charms are in theory more purely magical.

¹ *Cullavagga* v. 6, only alleged use of word Parittā by the Buddha of charm against snake bite.

² Cf. the Mahāyāna idea of the availability of Buddha's merit to all in his field. (See Chapter II.) Transfer of merit becomes one of the most characteristic ideas connected with the Buddha-kṣetra. A Buddha's merit helps to “save” all those in his field. Recognition is due to Messrs. Schneider and Friess for being probably the first to call attention to this association. *Religion in Various Cultures*, p. 154 (N.Y., Winter 1932).

systems; there must be a Buddha somewhere within that distance of the creature in need of protection if the Parittā is to work!

Just why *Āṇā-khetta* would be supposed to embrace this precise (!) number of *cakkavālas* I cannot imagine, unless, along the line of our former reasoning, this round number represents the next stage after the 10,000 in the growth of the Buddhist universe, and may perhaps mark the period when the theory of Pirit and *āṇā-khetta*s was first committed to memory.

This Buddha's *field of authority* (or *āṇā-khetta*), with its curious magical associations, is obviously more closely connected with the *Jāti-khetta* and its cosmic éclats than with the more psychological and philosophical *Visaya-khetta* (*field of knowledge*) which we dealt with first. The *āṇā-khetta* is more magical and physical than the *visaya-khetta* and has less to do with "cosmic perspective" (though as we have already seen it did concern the sun and the moon!). It is particularly interesting as an illustration of the way Buddhism took to itself popular charms and exorcisms, but this does not concern us here except to provide a background for understanding other kinds of magic power and emanations and other illustrations of spiritual causation which shall concern us in the next chapter in connection with Buddha's relation, as *lokanātha*, to the creatures in his "field."

(To be continued)

TERESINA ROWELL

DIE SPUREN DES BUDDHISMUS IN CHINA VOR KAISER MING, NEBST EINER BETRACHTUNG ÜBER DEN URSPRUNG UND DIE BEDEUTUNG DES "CHIN-JÊN".

VORWORT.

Die Frage, wann der Buddhismus in China eingeführt wurde, ist nicht nur für die allgemeine Geschichte Chinas und die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhismus überhaupt von grösster Bedeutung, sondern bei dieser Untersuchung ergeben sich zahlreiche weitere Fragen, die sich z. B. auf den Verkehr zwischen China, Zentralasien und Indien, auf gewisse Probleme der chinesischen Kulturgeschichte sowie auf die Entstehung der buddhistischen Kunst und einzelner buddhistischer Texte (Sūtras) u. s. w. beziehen. Die am weitesten verbreitete Tradition bringt die Einführung des Buddhismus in China bekanntlich mit einer Gesandtschaft in Zusammenhang, die der Kaiser Ming (明帝) der späteren Han-Dynastie im Jahre 61 n. Chr.¹ auf Grund eines Traumes, worin ihm Buddha erschienen sein soll, nach Indien schickte und die sechs Jahre später (67 n. Chr.) von dort mit buddhistischen Schriften und einigen Mönchen zurückkehrte. In einer methodisch ausgezeichneten Arbeit hat der französische Sinologe H. Maspéro² die Entstehung dieser Traum-Erzählung und ihrer einzelnen Bestandteile untersucht und gezeigt, dass das Ganze nichts weiter ist als eine Legende ohne jeden historischen Wert. Maspéro hat sich in jener Arbeit damit begnügt, das bisher angenommene Datum der Einführung des Buddhismus in China als unhaltbar nachzuweisen; seine Ausführungen verlangen aber eine Ergänzung nach der positiven Seite hin.

Ob die *offizielle* Einführung des Buddhismus zur Zeit des Kaisers Ming tatsächlich durch die Traumerscheinung eines "Chin-jên (金人)"³ veranlasst wurde, ist natürlich sehr zweifelhaft. Andererseits ist es durchaus möglich, dass der bereits früher eingedrungene Buddhismus erst von der Zeit

¹ Viertes Jahr Yung-p'ing (永平).

² Vgl. H. Maspéro, "Le Songe et l'Ambassade de l'Empereur Ming" (*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1910).

des Ming-ti ab sich staatlicher Förderung erfreute, zumal da die amtliche chinesische Geschichtschreibung damals zum ersten Mal von Buddhismus Notiz nahm. Eine Religion kommt aber, wie wir an vielen Beispielen der Weltgeschichte sehen können, nicht immer auf offiziellen Wagen in ein Land, um sich dort auszubreiten. So erhebt sich auch beim Buddhismus die Frage, wann diese Religion tatsächlich in China Eingang gefunden hat.

Die bisherigen Untersuchungen dieser Frage haben zu zwei grundsätzlich verschiedenen Ergebnissen geführt. Die eine Richtung kam auf Grund der chinesischen Quellen zu dem Schluss, der Buddhismus müsse dort bereits vor Kaiser Ming bekannt gewesen sein, während die andere die dafür angeführten Zeugnisse nicht für hinreichend beweiskräftig hält. Die Forscher der ersten Richtung haben jedoch zu sehr mit blossen Vermutungen gearbeitet und kaum irgendwelche historischen Beweise beigebracht; auch erfahren wir bei ihnen nichts über die Art des (oder der) Chin-jên, was für die Lösung des ganzen Problems sehr wesentlich wäre. Aus diesem Grund halte ich die Frage, wann und in welcher Form der Buddhismus zuerst in China Eingang gefunden hat, für wichtig genug, um sie nochmals zu stellen und einer eventuellen Lösung zuzuführen.

Gerade als ich mit meiner Arbeit begann, erschien von Tomojirô Hayashiya (林屋友次郎) in der Zeitschrift *Gendai-Bukkyô*⁴ ein Artikel, worin er das gleiche Thema wie ich behandelte. Hayashiya kam in seiner Arbeit zu dem Ergebnis, dass der Chin-jên eine Buddha-Statue sein müsse. Ich habe jedoch meine Untersuchung mit ganz anderen Methoden und Materialien in Angriff genommen,⁵ auch decken sich meine Ansichten und Ergebnisse keineswegs mit denen meines Vorgängers.

Bei der Durcharbeitung des Manuskripts bin ich von verschiedenen Seiten gefördert worden. Die Herren Professoren A. Forke und F. Jäger haben mir durch zahlreiche

⁴ Wortlich "Gold-Mensch"; dieser Ausdruck, dessen Bedeutung weiter unten noch ausführlich erörtert wird, bezieht sich auf eine Bronze- oder vergoldete Statue. Um jeden Irrtum zu vermeiden, behalte ich in meiner Arbeit dem Ausdruck "Chin-jên" bei.

⁵ 現代佛教 (*Contemporary Buddhism*), Bd. 56/58, Tokio 1922/29. behalte ich in meiner Arbeit den Ausdruck "Chin-jên" bei.

⁶ Vgl. Zeitschrift *Gendai-Bukkyô*, Bd. LXXIII, 1930.

Anregungen und Ratschläge ausserordentliche Dienste geleistet, und mich durch Durchsicht dieser Arbeit und vielfache Hinweise zu herzlichem Dank verpflichtet.

I. EINLEITUNG.

Die lange Zeit nur als wahrscheinlich betrachtete Existenz des Buddhismus in China vor Kaiser Ming wird heute von den meisten Forschern des Orients und Okzydents als feststehende Tatsache angenommen. Dabei bedarf es jedoch des ausdrücklichen Hinweises, dass es sich hier nur um gewisse Spuren jener Religion handelt, während ihre Verbreitung und Ausgestaltung sich erst viel später vollzog. Unserer Untersuchung der Frage sei eine Zusammenstellung der wichtigsten darüber bereits vorhandenen Literatur vorausgeschickt.

Unter den europäischen Forschern gebührt dem Engländer Beal das Verdienst, auf Grund chinesischer Quellen das Eindringen des Buddhismus in China für eine frühere Zeit als bis dahin allgemein angenommen wurde, nachgewiesen zu haben. Seiner Ansicht nach hat der bekannte Chang Ch'ien (張騫) von seiner Gesandtschaftreise nach dem Westen die erste Kunde von der fremden Religion nach China zurückgebracht (126 v. Chr.). Er sagt darüber:¹

“In any case, it seems that it was by this acquaintance with the West that China first heard of Buddha and his doctrine. For Chang-k'ien reported to the emperor that ‘he had been told that in India they worshipped a divine person, Feou-to [Buddha]; and another general, Hu Kiu-ping, saw at Hiu-to (a small district in the Pamir) ‘a golden image of the same person, which the king of that country adored’. This is the first authentic record concerning a knowledge of Buddha in China”.

In noch frühere Zeit verlegt Johnston das Eindringen des Buddhismus nach China; er ist der Ansicht, dass der Buddhismus dort bereits unter dem ersten Kaiser der Ch'in-Dynastie existierte, und zwar führt er die Einführung

¹ Vgl. S. Beal, *Buddhism in China*, London 1884, p. 47.

desselben auf die Missionstätigkeit des indischen Königs Aśoka zurück. Er sagt hierüber:²

“Whether Aśoka’s missionaries reached China or not, is a difficult question to answer. All we can say is that they possibly have done so. A Chinese tradition says that Buddhism appeared in China about the year 217 B.C. Moreover, the buddhistic literature and monastic chronicles of China contain numerous references to Aśoka himself, who is declared to have been the founder of vast numbers of pagodas, some of which were erected on Chinese soil. The stories of Aśoka and Chinese pagodas are no doubt fabulous, but it is possible that the legends, which associated his name with the early propagation of Buddhism in China may contain a measure of truth. Aśoka died about 231 B.C. The self-styled ‘First Emperor’ of China (Ch’in Shih-huang), the builder of the Great Wall, reigned from 221 to 210, and it was about the year 213 that this monarch’s policy, which might perhaps be described as Political Futurism, culminated in the ‘burning of the books’. It is not inconceivable that these books—which are believed to have embraced all existing literature except works relating to medicine, agriculture, and divination—included some Buddhist tracts. For though there is reason to believe that the canon had not been reduced to writing at the early date, it is by no means certain that portions of the scriptures did not already exist in literary form; indeed, if these were no literature of any kind, it is difficult to explain the success of the missionary propaganda in India and Ceylon. There is a passage in a Chinese historical work which distinctly states that Buddhist books had been widely circulated for a long time, but disappeared when the Ch’in dynasty established itself on the throne.”

Wenn Johnstone davon spricht, dass der durch Shih-huang-ti veranlassten Bücherverbrennung auch einige buddhistische Traktate zum Opfer gefallen seien, so verdient diese Angabe keinen Glauben. Ebenso wenig ist uns in der chinesischen Literatur ein geschichtliches Werk bekannt, in dem deutlich berichtet wird, dass buddhistische Werke in

² Vgl. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, London 1913, p. 21f.

China lange Zeit verbreitet waren und dann mit der Thronbesteigung der Ch'in-Dynastie verschwunden sind. Es wäre von grösster Bedeutung, die Quellen, auf die Johnstone seine Behauptung geründet, zu kennen.

Dass durch indische Missionare der Buddhismus bereits unter Aśoka und Kanishka nach Tibet und der Mongolei gebracht wurde, behauptet G. Scott, der darüber folgendes sagt:³

“Aśoka we know sent missionaries far and wide. The equally great and perhaps even more zealous Kanishka some generations later also sent apostles north and south and east and west. It was these missionaries who introduced Buddhism into Tibet and Mongolia and beyond. It is impossible to believe that they came only to preach word of mouth. They would certainly take texts with them, and where the creed was taught, it is not likely that the means of recalling its details would be omitted. The fact that all these texts have disappeared, proves nothing, for fighting in these parts was continuous for centuries and a conquering soldier has no respect for anything.”

Bei dem Worte “beyond” könnte man vermuten, dass Scott damit sagen will, der Buddhismus sei auch in China bereits durch die Missionare Aśoka's eingeführt worden. Von einer solchen Einführung wissen wir nichts.

Im Gegensatz zu diesen historisch unbewiesenen Annahmen hat O. Franke auf Grund einer bis dahin unbeachteten chinesischen Quelle einen guten Überblick über die verschiedenen Spuren des chinesischen Buddhismus vor Kaiser Ming gegeben.⁴ Im X. Kapitel des aus dem Jahre 1201 stammenden *Ye-ko t'sung shu* (野客叢書)⁵ von Wan Mou (王楙) findet sich folgende Stelle:

傅奕韓退之皆言，佛自後漢明帝時始入中國，此蓋諱其顯然者，僕謂佛法之入中國其來久矣。觀魏略西戎傳曰，昔漢哀元壽元年博士景慮受大月氏王使伊存口傳浮屠經，

³ George, Scott, “Buddhism in the Shan States” in J.R.A.S. 1911, p. 921.

⁴ Vgl. O. Franke, “Zur Frage der Einführung des Buddhismus in China” (*Ostasiatischen Studien*, 1910, S. 259ff.).

又觀劉向列仙傳序曰，得仙者百四十六人共七十四人已在佛經，則知漢成哀間已有佛經矣。漢武古事昆邪王殺休屠王以其衆降得金人之神，上置之甘泉宮，金人皆長文餘，其祭不用牛羊惟燒香禮拜，上使依其國俗。又元狩三年穿昆明池底得黑灰，帝問東方朔朔曰，可問西域道人，又知佛法自武帝時已入中國矣。今人惟知佛法入中國自明帝始不知自武帝始也，薛正己記，仲尼師老聃師竺乾審足則佛入中國又不止於武帝。

Frank übersetzt:

“Fu Yi und Han Yü behaupten beide, dass der Buddhismus seit der Zeit des Kaisers Ming-ti von der späteren Han-Dynastie ab in China Eingang gefunden habe. Die Angaben hierüber sind ganz klar. Ich aber meine, dass Buddha's Lehre schon lange vorher nach China gekommen ist. Das *Si Jung tschuan* im *Wei lio* sagt folgendes: ‘Einstmals, im ersten Jahre der Periode Yuan-schou des Kaisers Ngai von der Han-Dynastie (d. h. im Jahre 2 v. Chr.), erhielt der *po-schi* King Lu von dem Gesandten des Königs der Yüe-tschü, J-t'sun, in mündlicher Überlieferung buddhistische Sūtras.

Ferner heisst es in der Vorrede zum *Lie sien tschuan* von LIU HIANG: ‘Die zu göttergleichen Wesen (sien) wurden, waren einhundertundvierzig Menschen; vierundsiebzig von ihnen waren schon in den buddhistischen Sūtras (erwähnt).’ Hieraus kann man ersehen, dass zur Zeit der Kaiser Tsch'êng und Ngai von der Han-Dynastie (32 bis 1 v. Chr.) bereits buddhistische Sūtras vorhanden waren.

Im *Han Wu ku schi* liest man: ‘Der König von K'un-sie tötete den König von Hiu-t'su, sein Volk aber unterwarf sich. Man nahm seine Götter, die die Gestalt von goldenen Menschen hatten und stellte sie auf in dem Palaste von Kan-t'süan. Die goldenen Menschen waren alle über zehn Fuss hoch. Man bediente sich keiner Rinder und Schafe (um ihnen zu opfern), sondern zündetet ihnen nur Weihrauch an und brachte ihnen Verehrung dar. Es war vom Kaiser befohlen worden, dass man dabei den Bräuchen

^a Um eine Verwirrung in der Transkription zu vermeiden, richte ich mich an dieser Stelle nach Franke.

jener Länder folgen solle.' Ferner: 'Als im dritten Jahre der Periode Yuan-schou (120 v. Chr.) der K'un-ming-See ausgegraben wurde, fand man auf dem Grunde Naphtha (oder Asphalt). Der Kaiser fragte Tung-fang So danach. Tung-fang So antwortete: Man könnte die Priester aus den westlichen Gebieten danach fragen.' Hieraus kann man entnehmen, dass die Lehre Buddha's schon zur Zeit des Kaisers Wu ti (140 bis 87 v. Chr.) nach China gelangt war.

Heute meint man nun, dass der Buddhismus zuerst zur Zeit des Kaisers Ming-ti in China Eingang gefunden habe; man weiss aber nichts davon, dass dieser schon zur Zeit des Kaisers Wu ti begann. Sie Tscheng (? s. unten) hat bereits berichtet, dass Konfuzius und Lao tsè in Indien und Gandhāra (bekannt) waren. Wenn man genauere Untersuchungen anstellen würde, so würde man finden, dass das Eindringen des Buddhismus in China auch noch nicht einmal bei der Zeit des Wu ti stehen bleibt (d.h. noch früher begonnen hat)."

Den Angaben, die Wan Mou hier über verschiedene Spuren des Buddhismus in China vor Kaiser Ming macht, kommt kaum ein originaler Wert zu; denn die meisten von ihnen finden sich bereits in älteren Werken, die sich mit der Geschichte des chinesischen Buddhismus beschäftigen.⁶ Auch in Europa war die erste Geschichte, die sich auf Übermittlung buddhistischer Sūtras durch die Yüeh-shih bezieht, bereits von Chavannes und Pelliot⁷ eingehend behandelt worden. Franke nimmt mit folgenden Worten hierauf Bezug:⁸

"Über die Angabe chinesischer Chronisten, betreffend die Übermittlung buddhistischer Sūtras durch die Yüeh-tschü an die Chinesen im Jahre 2. v. Chr., ist bereits eine

⁶ Wie z.B. *Li-tai san-pao chi* (歷代三寶記), *P'o-hsieh lun* (破邪論), *Fo-tsu-t'ung chi* (佛祖統記), *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* (佛祖歷代通載) etc.

⁷ Chavannes, *Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei li* (T'oung Pao, Ser. II. Bd. 6, S. 546ff.).

⁸ Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* VI, p. 373 ff.

⁹ Franke, "Zur Frage der Einführung des Buddhismus in China" (*Ostasiat. Stud.* S. 297).

ganze Literatur entstanden. Eine Erörterung der Frage findet sich in den *Beiträgen aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens* (Anhang zu den *Abhandlung der Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.* von 1904), S. 91 f. Seitdem haben zwei französische Sinologen weiter eingehende Untersuchungen darüberangestellt, nämlich Chavannes in seiner Abhandlung *Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei lio* (*T'oung Pao* Ser. II. Bd. VI) S. 546 ff. und Pelliot im *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* Bd. VI, S. 373 ff. (vgl. auch ebenda Bd. III, S. 98 f.). Leider sind die Lesearten dieser wichtigen Angabe in den verschiedenen chinesischen Werken so voreinander abweichend, dass sich ein völlig sicher Text noch immer nicht hat aufstellen lassen."

Da diese Begebenheit bereits von verschiedenen Gelehrten ausführlich erörtert worden ist, möchte ich auf sie hier nicht weiter eingehen, zumal sie einer verhältnismässig späten Zeit angehört; die vorliegende Abhandlung beschäftigt sich aber gerade mit den älteren Spuren des Buddhismus in China.

Die zweite Angabe, die sich auf die angebliche Erwähnung von 74 Hsien-jên in buddhistischen Texten der Han-Zeit bezieht,¹⁰ sowie die letzte Geschichte, wonach Lao-tzü¹¹ und Konfuzius schon damals in Indien bekannt gewesen

¹⁰ In seinen *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des Buddhismus in China* (支那佛教史講話 *Shina-Bukkyô-shi* Kôwa, Bd. I. Tokio 1927, S. 10f.) hat K. Sakaino (境野黄洋), eine Autorität auf diesem Gebiet, die Glaubwürdigkeit jener Angabe bestritten und eine interessante Erklärung ihrer Entstehung gegeben.

¹¹ Wir wissen nur, dass Hsüan-tsung nach seiner Rückkehr aus Indien auf Befehl des Kaisers Ta-tsung (太宗) das *Tao-tê-ching* (道德經) ins Sanskrit übersetzt hat (647-48) und diese Übersetzung dann in die westlichen Länder geschickt wurde. Vgl. Fo-tsu-t'ung chi (Taishô-Trip. XLIX, S. 366b), *Hsü-kao-sêng ch'uan* 續高僧傳 (Taishô-Trip. I, S. 455b) und *Chi-ku-chin fo-tao lung-hêng* 集古今佛道論衡 (Taishô-Trip. LII, S. 386b). Vgl. hierüber die grosse Arbeit Pelliot's "Autour d'une traduction sanscrite du *Tao t'ê king*" (*T'oung Pao*, Bd. XIII, S. 381 ff.) über die Beziehung des Lao-tzu zu Buddhismus vgl. T. Fujita (藤田豊八), "Über den Text des *Giryaku* (魏略) in Bezug auf den Eingang des Buddhismus nach China". *Shigaku-Zasshi* 史學雜誌 (Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft), Bd. 37, Tokio 1926, Nr. 7, S. 507ff.

seien, entbehren jeder historischen Grundlage, so dass sie für unsere Untersuchung nicht im Betracht kommen.

Auch die Geschichte des K'un-ming-See hat Franke so ausführlich behandelt, dass sich hier eine weitere Untersuchung erübrigt. Das Han-wu ku-shih (漢武故事),¹² das die Geschichte des goldenen Menschen oder Chin-jên (金人) enthält, ist heute nicht mehr vorhanden. Franke kommt zu dem Ergebnis, der Buddhismus sei unter Wu-ti eingeführt worden, und macht die Bemerkung:¹³

“Als die ersten christlichen Missionare, ebenfalls ‘Priester aus den westlichen Gebieten’ nach China kamen, gab es kaum irgendein Problem, namentlich technischer Natur, für das man dort nicht von ihnen die Lösung erwartet hätte. Genau so mag es vor 2000 Jahren mit den ersten buddhistischen Missionaren gewesen sein. Ist die Quelle Wan Mou's und des *P'ien tse lei pien* richtig — und wir haben vorläufig keinen Anlass daran zu zweifeln —, so ist damit endgültig erwiesen, dass in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. vorechristlichen Jahrhunderts buddhistische Mönche aus Indien oder Zentralasien in Nordwest-China waren.”

Den Bericht über den (oder die) Chin-jên zur Zeit des Kaisers Wu hat De Groot aus dem Shih-chi und Ch'ien-han-shu übersetzt, aber leider gibt er keine weitere Erklärung darüber, was mit Chin-jên gemeint ist.¹⁴ Dagegen haben Franke, Pelliot und Hayashiya übereinstimmend festgestellt, dass unter Chin-jên eine Buddha-Statue zu verstehen sei. Diese Feststellung wird jedoch von ihnen nicht näher begründet; der Ausdruck Buddha-Statue ist ja eine allgemeine Bezeichnung für buddhistische Statuen überhaupt und umfasst sowohl die verschiedenen Buddhas wie die Bodhi-

¹² Dieses Werk scheint als geschichtliche Quelle wenig Wert zu haben. Vgl. Pelliot, “Notes de Bibliographie chinoise” (*Bull. l. École fran. d'Ext.-Orient*, 1910, p. 234).

¹³ Franke, a.a.O. S. 303.

¹⁴ J. J. M. De Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens* I. Teil: “Die Hunnen der vorechristlichen Zeit”, Berlin und Leipzig 1921, S. 120f. und S. 131.

sattvas, Götter, etc. Im strengen Sinne müssen wir diese Statuen in Buddha-, Bodhisattva- und Schutzgötter einteilen und ferner unterscheiden, welchen Buddha, Bodhisattva oder Schutzgott die Statue darstellt. Die oben genannten Gelehrten scheinen unter Chin-jên eine Statue Sâkyamuni zu verstehen. Gerade dieser Punkt bedarf aber noch einer näheren Untersuchung; es handelt sich nämlich um die Frage, ob es tatsächlich schon in so früher Zeit (im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) Buddha-Statue gegeben hat.

Was das früheste Bekanntwerden buddhistischer Sûtras in China betrifft, so haben Beal¹⁵ und Franke¹⁶ die Tradition, wonach bereits im Jahre 217 v. Chr. Śrāmaṇas mit einigen Sûtras nach Hsi-an fu gekommen sind, als Legende bezeichnet und ihr jeden historischen Wert abgesprochen. Gleichwohl verdient die Frage, ob schon im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. geschriebene Sûtras existiert haben, noch näherer Untersuchung.

Manche Forscher bezweifeln die Glaubwürdigkeit der oben angeführten Berichte. Nach ihrer Meinung ist es undenkbar, dass der Buddhismus sich schon 150 Jahre nach dem Tode seines Begründers¹⁷ in China verbreitet haben soll, denn eine Religion bedarf in Wirklichkeit einer weit längeren Zeit, um festen Boden zur Ausbreitung im Auslande zu finden und feste Formen anzunehmen. Die Frage nach dem Tode Buddha's ist jedoch für unsere Untersuchung unwesentlich; meiner Ansicht nach hat der Buddhismus durch den König Aśoka in Zentralasien seine Ausbreitung gefunden und ist dann von dort nach China vorgedrungen; somit ist auch hier die erste Bekanntschaft mit

¹⁵ Vol. Beal, *Buddhism in China*, p. 47f.

¹⁶ Vgl. Franke, a.a.O. (*Ostasias Stud.* 1910, S. 304). Der Text findet sich unter anderen auch im *T'u-c'hu tsi-tsch'êng* (圖書集成), Abt. "Shên-i-tien" (神異典) Kap. 59, fol. 2a, wo als Quelle für diese Geschichte des *Fo fa kin t'ang pien* (佛法金湯篇) angegeben wird.

¹⁷ H. Ui (宇井伯壽), ein grosser Kenner des Buddhismus in Japan behauptet, dass Buddha 385 v. Chr. gestorben sei (Vgl. Zeitschrift *Gen-dai-Bukkyô* Bd. 58, S. 53). Aber es ist allgemein anerkannt, dass Buddha ca. 485 v. Chr. ins Nirvāṇa einging.

dem Buddhismus auf Aśoka zurückzuführen. Im Zusammenhang damit wird schliesslich auch noch die Frage der zentralasiatischen Verkehrsverhältnisse in jener Frühzeit zu behandeln sein: man hat behauptet, damals sei der Verkehr zwischen Indien, Zentralasien und China noch zu wenig entwickelt gewesen, als dass der Buddhismus schon so frühzeitig über Zentralasien nach China hätte vordringen können.

Folgende Fragen scheinen mir also als leitende Gesichtspunkte von Bedeutung zu sein:

1. Welche Möglichkeit kann für das Eindringen des Buddhismus in China durch König Aśoka bestanden haben?
2. Wie hat sich der Verkehr zwischen Indien, Zentralasien und China entwickelt?
3. In welcher Form ist der Buddhismus in China eingeführt worden?
4. Wann sind Buddha-Statuen oder buddhistische Statuen entstanden?
5. Welche Gestalt und Bedeutung hatte ein Chin-jên?
6. In welche Zeit fällt die Entstehung von buddhistischen Texten?

II. DIE MÖGLICHKEIT FÜR DAS EINDRINGEN DES BUDDHISMUS IN CHINA VOR KAISER MING.

Vorausgesetzt, dass der aus Indien stammende Buddhismus in China vor Kaiser Ming oder in vorchristlicher Zeit eingeführt wurde, welche Möglichkeit bestand dann, dass diese Religion in China Boden gewinnen konnte?

Wie wir oben gesehen haben, nimmt Franke an, dass der Buddhismus bereits unter Wu-ti in China Eingang fand, und zwar durch König Kaniska, der nach seiner Meinung im zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr. lebte.¹ Es ist aber sehr fraglich, ob die Lebenszeit dieses Königs so früh angesetzt

¹ Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, Berlin 1904, S. 80ff.

werden kann.² Es gibt über diesen Punkt mehr als dreißig verschiedene Ansichten,³ aber nur wenige davon entscheiden sich für die vorchristliche Zeit. Manche behaupten, es habe zwei Kaniska gegeben, und zwar habe der erste im ersten Jahrhundert v. Chr. und der zweite in ersten oder zweiten Jahrhundert n. Chr. gelebt.⁴ Obwohl wir die Ansicht Franke's für richtig halten, wird dadurch unsere Annahme, dass der Buddhismus bereits im Jahre 221 v. Chr. in China eingedrungen sei, nicht berührt, da es sich dabei um eine noch frühere Zeit handelt.

Meiner Ansicht nach ist diese frühe Einführung des Buddhismus in China auf den buddhistischen König Asoka zurückzuführen, der von 273 bis 232 v. Chr. über Indien herrschte und seinen Einfluss über die Grenzen seines Reiches hinaus weit ausdehnte. Smith entwirft von der Wirkung des Königs Asoka folgendes Bild:⁵

"It resulted in Buddhism quickly becoming the dominant religion throughout India and Ceylon, and its ultimate extension over Burma, Cambodia, The Indian Archipelago, China, Korea, Japan, Mongolia, Tibet, and other countries of Asia. In some of these countries Buddhism did not effect its entry until centuries after the time of Asoka, but the diffusion of the religion in them all was due to the impetus given by the great Buddhist emperor of India, who transformed the creed of a local Indian sect into a world-religion, the most important of all religions, perhaps, if the numbers of its adherents be taken as the test."

Smith behauptet also nicht, dass der Buddhismus bereits zu Asoka's Zeit in China eingeführt worden sei. Auf die

² So behauptet z.B. Smith, dieser König sei erst im Jahre 135 n. Chr. Buddhist geworden. Vgl. *The Kushan, or Indo-Scythian, Period of Indian History*, B.C. 165 to A.D. 320 (J.R.A.S. 1903).

³ Vgl. T. Byōdō (平等通昭), *Bonbun Butsuden-Bungaku no Kenkyū* 梵文佛傳文學の研究 (Untersuchung über Sanskrit-Literatur im Bezug auf die Biographie des Buddha), Tokio 1930, S. 27 f.

⁴ Vgl. Byōdō, a.a.O. S. 28 f.

⁵ V. Smith, *Asoka, (Ruler of India)*, Oxford 1919, p. 81.

Frage "Whether Aśoka's missionaries reached China or not" hat Johnston die Antwort gegeben: "All we can say is that he may possibly have done so" (vgl. oben S. 250). Er spricht somit nur von einer Möglichkeit, aber nicht von einer geschichtlich bewiesenen Tatsache. Wenn das Eindringen des Buddhismus in China direkt oder indirekt auf den König Aśoka zurückgeht, wie wir annehmen, so muss diese Religion ihren Weg über Khotan (于闐)⁶ genommen haben, das damals zum Einflussgebiet des Aśoka sowohl wie des Shih-huang-ti gehört hat.

A. Khotan Unter dem Einfluss von Aśoka.

a. Die Frage der Missionstätigkeit Aśoka's in Khotan.

Bei der Untersuchung der Frage, ob und welche Beziehungen zwischen Aśoka und Khotan bestanden haben, könnte man vielleicht erwarten, dass die Betrachtung der Missionstätigkeit jenes Königs darauf ein näheres Licht wirft. Leider reicht aber das vorhandene Material nicht aus, festzustellen, ob Aśoka's Missionare, die bekanntlich bis Ägypten, Syrien und andere Länder kamen, auch nach Khotan gelangten und dort die Lehre Buddha's verkündeten. Smith und andere Forscher sind der Ansicht, das Himālaya-Gebirge sei für Aśoka's Missionare ein unüberwindliches Hindernis gewesen.¹ In der Tat finden wir unter den Aśoka-Edikten, die von seiner Missionstätigkeit berichten, den Namen Khotan nicht.

Der chinesische Text des *Sudarśana-vibhāṣa-vinaya* (善見毘婆沙律)² berichtet, dass der Missionar Majjhantika (末闍提) nach Kāśmīr und Gāndhāra und Majjhima (末示摩) in das Himālaya-Gebiet (Himavanta-pada, 雪山邊) gegangen sind, und offenbar beruht auf dieser Stelle die Behauptung

⁶ Vgl. Öshio's Indien Landkarte, M. 4 und Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford 1907.

¹ Wie z.B. Smith, *Asoka*, p. 82.

² Vgl. Taishō-Trip. XXIV, S. 684. Nanjio-Kat. Appendix II, Nr.

tung Teramoto's,³ wonach der Buddhismus von Majjhima wahrscheinlich bis nach Khotan gebracht worden sei. Leider bildet aber gerade dieser Punkt nicht eine geschichtlich beglaubigte Tatsache. Scott weist noch auf eine andere Möglichkeit hin:⁴

“The great king Aśoka (Dharmasawka as the Tai call him) was, as we know, both a Saul and a Constantin. It seems probable that it was he who introduced Buddhism into Tibet. He sent apostles north and south and east and west, and if they did not penetrate directly into Tibet they probably did so by way of Chinese Turkistan and Mongolia. The Nan-cao kingdom had wars and alliances and frequent communications in various ways with Tibet. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that it got Buddhism from this direction and not from south. If we assume the Buddhism we must also assume that it brought literature. The missionaries of Aśoka included the building of pagodas, and we are told that 86.000 of them were built throughout the world known to him. In many of the Shan States there are shrines which claim to be among this number.”

Scott wirft hier Fragen von grosser geschichtlicher Tragweite auf, spricht aber immer nur von Möglichkeiten, ohne dafür irgendwelche Zeugnisse anzuführen. Was insbesondere die Einführung des Buddhismus in Birma betrifft, so findet sich darüber in dem oben genannten Sudarśana-vibhāṣa-vinaya eine Notiz, wonach die Missionare Sonaka (須那迦) und Uttara (鬱多羅) nach dem “Gold-Land” (Svappa-bhūmi, 金地國), das dem jetzigen Birma entspricht, gegangen sind.⁵ Es ist aber fraglich, ob sie tatsächlich bis in das Gebiet der heutigen Shan-Staaten (Ober-Birma) gelangten. Ebenso wenig hat A. H. Francke für seine Behauptung, dass Aśoka's Missionare nach Yarkand (莎車)⁶ gekommen seien, eine Quelle angegeben. Eine

³ Nach einer brieflichen Mitteilung von E. Teramoto (寺本婉雅), der in Japan heute als der beste Kenner des tibetischen Buddhismus gilt.

⁴ Scott, a.a.O. (J.R.A.S. 1910, p. 921).

⁵ Vgl. Taishō-Trip.

XXIV, S. 684.

⁶ Vgl. Oshio's Indian-Landskarte, K. 4.

Bestätigung dieser Angabe würde deshalb für uns von grosser Bedeutung sein, weil südöstlich von Yarkand gerade Khotan gelegen ist.

Somit wird auch durch die nähere Betrachtung der Missionstätigkeit Aśoka's die Frage der direkten Beziehungen zwischen Indien und Khotan nicht aufgeheilt, wenn auch die oben angeführten Materialien eine bereits unter Aśoka erfolgte Einführung des Buddhismus in Khotan als möglich erscheinen lassen. Diese Möglichkeiten gewinnen aber vielleicht durch gewisse Nachrichten eines tibetischen Geschichtswerkes und anderer buddhistischer Werke an Wahrscheinlichkeit.

b. Alte Tradition in Khotan.

Die beste Quelle für die alte Geschichte des Landes Khotan und den damaligen über Khotan gehenden Verkehr zwischen Indien und China bildet das tibetische Werk "Liḥi-yul Luḥ-bStan-Pa"¹ (kurz "Annals of Li-yul" genannt), das bereits Rockhill,² Chandra Dās³ und andere⁴ teilweise übersetzt haben und das auch Stein in seinem "Ancient Khotan" öfters erwähnt. Teramoto, der neuerdings eine vollständige Übersetzung des Werkes ins Japanische gegeben hat,⁵ bemerkt über seine Entstehung folgendes:⁶ "Das Werk

¹ Vgl. Rev. A. H. Franke, *A History of Western Tibet*, London 1907, p. 20f.

² *Prophezeiung über das Land Khotan*. Skt.: *Kaṃsadeṣa-vyākaraṇa*, Chin.: 于闐國誌記.

³ Rockhill, *The Life of Buddha*, London 1907, p. 230 ff, *The Early History of Li-yul (Khotan)*". Man findet leider in seinem Werk öfters falsche Übersetzungen.

⁴ Chandra Dās, "Buddhist and other Legends about Khotan" (J.R.A.S. 1886, Part 1, pp. 193-203).

⁵ Vgl. Rockhill, a.a.O. p. 230f.

⁶ In seinen Buch *Uten-koku-shi 于闐國史* (Geschichte des Landes Khotan), Kioto 1921. Darin hat Teramoto auch noch ein zweiter ähnliches Werk "dGra-hCom-pa dGe-hDun ḥPhel-Gyis Luḥs bStan-Pa", d.h. Prophezeiung (über Khotan) von Arhat Sanghavardhana (vgl. Rockhill, a.a.O. p. 231) aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt und das Verhältnis der beiden genauer untersucht.

⁷ Teramoto, a.a.O. S. 67f.

wurde im Jahre 1183 verfasst; aus der Tatsache, dass der Text voll ungeschickter Satzkonstruktionen und grammatisch mangelhaft ist, ergibt sich, dass er nicht von einem Tibeter, sondern von einem Khotanesen verfasst wurde, der sich dabei auf alte Geschichtsquellen Khotans gestützt hat."

Die Schilderung, die Hsüan-tsang in seiner Reisebeschreibung von dem Ursprung des Königreiches Khotan gibt, berührt sich eng mit dem entsprechenden Bericht der "Annalen von Li-yul", die offenbar auf gewissen einheimischen Traditionen beruhen. Stein weist drauf hin, dass Hsüan-tsang seine Quelle nicht genau angebe, hält es aber für sehr wahrscheinlich, dass jener hier gewisse Informationen wiedergebe, die er irgendwie aus einer khotanesischen Chronik geschöpft habe. Er sagt über diesen Punkt:⁷

"Hsüan-tsang's Hsi-yü-chi tells the story of the origin of the Khotan kingdom and its dynasty, after referring to its actual ruler and his claim to descend from the god Vaiśravaṇa (*Pi-sha-mên*) or Kubera. The pilgrim does not state distinctly the source from which he obtained this story. But the reference he makes in a preceding passage to the chronicles possessed by the Khotanese, and still more the close correspondence between his account and the Tibetan 'Annals of Li-yul' which must be based on Khotan tradition, render it highly probable that Hsüan-tsang here reproduces information received directly or indirectly from some Khotanese chronicle."

Während also Stein behauptet, die *Annalen von Li-yul* beruhten auf khotanesischer Tradition, nimmt Rockhill an, der Verfasser jenes Werkes habe gewisse den nördlichen Buddhisten unbekannte Dokumente benutzt:⁸

"This last-named work (the annals of Li-yul) seems to have been compiled from documents unknown to Northern Buddhist writers in general, and from the particular form in which certain proper names have been transcribed (such as *Yāço* instead of *Yāças* or *Yasheska*,

⁷ Vgl. Stein, a.a.O. p. 156.

⁸ Vgl. Rockhill, a.a.O. "Introduction", p. ix.

which is always met with in Northern texts), we think its author had access to some Southern documents on the early history of Buddhism."

Der Verfasser der *Annalen von Li-yul* sagt ausdrücklich, er stütze sich auch auf mehrere buddhistische Werke, wie das *Zla-Ba Sñiñ-Pos Shus-pa* (月藏請問經), das *Lha-Mo Dri-med-Pahi Hod-kyis Shus-Pa* (無垢光天請問經) und das *dHe-ḥDun ḥPher-Gyi Luñ-bStan-Pa* (僧伽婆爾陀那于闐懸記).⁹ Von diesen drei Werken besitzen wir von dem ersten einen Parallel-text im chinesischen Tripitaka, nämlich das einen Teil des *Mahā-vaipulya-sampāta-sūtra* (大方等大集經)¹⁰ bildene "Candra-garbha" (月藏分),¹¹ während das zweite nur in tibetischer Sprache vorliegt; das letzte der drei Werke hat bereits Teramoto ins Japanische vollständig übersetzt. Wichtig für unsere Untersuchung ist nun der Umstand, dass auch im "Sūrya-garbha" (日藏分),¹² einem anderen Teil des *Mahā-vaipulya-sampāta-sūtra*, gewisse Tradition über den Ursprung des Königsreiches Khotan, sowie über seine Beziehungen zu Aśoka und dem Gott Vaiśravaṇa enthalten sind. Aus diesem Text hat Hsüan-tsaung, wie Teramoto vermutet,¹³ die alten Traditionen über Khotan geschöpft.

Was nun die Entstehungszeit der beiden Texte "Sūrya-" und "Candra-garbha" betrifft, so haben wir dafür zwei Anhaltspunkte: 1) An einer Stelle des "Candra-garbha" heisst es: "Ich habe bereits das Sūrya-garbha-sūtra gepredigt" (說日藏經已),¹⁴ danach muss das Sūrya-garbha vor dem Candra-garbha entstanden sein. 2) Der Umstand,

⁹ Vgl. Teramoto, a.a.O. S. 50.

¹⁰ Taishō-Trip. Nr. 397. Nanjio-Kat., Nr. 61.

¹¹ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. XIII, S. 298-381.

¹² Vgl. Anm. 3. Der Anfang des *Shih-chia muni-ju-lai hsin-fa mo-ching chi* 釋迦牟尼如來像法滅盡記 (Taishō-Trip. LI, S. 996f.) entspricht den einigen Stellen des Werkes Anm. 9.

¹³ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. XIII, S. 233-297.

¹⁴ Vgl. Teramoto, a.a.O. S. 125.

¹⁵ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. XIII, S. 298a.

dass Nāgārjuna (龍樹),¹⁶ der etwa am Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. lebte, aus dem Candragarbha einige Stellen übernommen hat, liefert einen terminus ante quem für die Entstehung der beiden Texte: jedenfalls müssen sie bereits vor Nāgārjuna vorhanden gewesen sein. Lässt sich also auch die *genaue* Entstehungszeit dieser Texte nicht weiter bestimmen, so hat die bisherige Untersuchung wenigstens folgendes ergeben: der Verfasser der *Annalen von Li-yul* hat keineswegs, wie Stein annimmt, nur einheimische Traditionen verbreitet, sondern offenbar auch mehrere buddhistische Werke herangezogen. Andererseits muss dahingestellt bleiben, ob dem Verfasser tatsächlich, wie Rockhill behauptet, irgendwelche südbuddhistische Quellen zur Verfügung standen.

Was nun die Angaben der *Annalen von Li-yul* über den Ursprung des Königreiches Khotan, sowie seine Beziehungen zu Aśoka und Vaiśravaṇa betrifft, so hören wir darüber folgendes:¹⁸

“Two hundred and thirty-four years after the death of the Buddha there was a king of India called Dharmāgoka, who, in the first place, had put to death many beings, but who had later on become a righteous man through the

¹⁶ Vgl. die *Biographie des Nāgārjuna-Bodhisattva* (龍樹菩薩傳), Taishō-Trip. L. S. 184f. Nach M. Walleser hat er schon im ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr. gelebt (vgl. Zeits. für Buddhismus V. S. 85ff.).

¹⁷ Vgl. Teramoto, a.a.O. S. 123.

¹⁸ Rockhill, a.a.O. p. 233f. Teramoto's Übersetzung—a.a.O. S. 16—weicht von dieser an manchen Stellen ab). Dieselbe Tradition findet sich in dem tibetischen Werk *hPhags-Pa Gran-Ru-Luñ-bStan-Pa Shes-Bya-Ba Theg-Pa Chen-Pohi-mDo*“ (聖牛角懸記大乘經) (vgl. Teramoto, a.a.O. S. 76f.). Die Schilderung, die Stein (a.a.O. p. 156f) von der Entstehung des Landes Khotan gibt, ist teils dem obigen Bericht teils der Reisebeschreibung des Hsüan-tsang (in der Beal'schen Übersetzung, vgl. Buddhist Record of the Western World, London 1906, Bd. II. p. 309f.) entnommen. Nach Hsüan-tsang soll ein Sohn des Shih-huang-ti der Begründer des Königsreiches Khotan gewesen sein. Dass Aśoka's ältester Sohn Kunāla (oder Kustana) seine Sehkraft verlor und verbannt wurde, berichten auch verschiedene buddhistische Werke, wie z. B. des *A-yü-wang chuan* 阿育王傳 (vgl. Taishō-Trip. L. S. 106ff. Nan-jio-Kat. Nr. 1459), das *Hsi-yü-chi* (Taishō-Trip. L. S. 885a); die Berichte zeigen geringe Unterschiede.

Arya, the Arhat Yaço (Yâças); he had confessed his sins and had vowed to sin no more.... At that time the lake had dried up, but Li-yul was uninhabited.

In the thirtieth year of Dharmâçoka's reign his Queen-consort brought a son. The soothsayers being summoned, declared that the child bore many marks of greatness, and that this child would dethrone him, gave orders that he should be abandoned; and the mother, apprehending that if the child were not abandoned the king would have him put to death, did as he had ordered. But when the child had been abandoned, there arose a breast on the earth from which he derived sustenance, so that he did not die. For this reason he was called Kusthana, or "breast of the earth."

Now at that time there lived a ruler of Rgya (China), a great Bôdhisattva. He had 999 sons, and had prayed to Vaiçravaṇa that he might have one more to complete the thousand. Vaiçravaṇa looked about, and perceiving that the little waif Kusthana was a promising person, he carried him off and made him the son of the ruler of Rgya. The ruler of Rgya brought him up, but one day while quarreling with the children of (the king of) Rgya, they said to Kusthana, "Thou art not the son of the sovereign of Rgya." He was distressed at that, and having ascertained from other men that this statement was borne out by the annals of Rgya, he asked the king to allow to go seek his native land.

Weiterhin wird dann geschildert, wie einerseits von Osten her der Prinz Kusthana (od. Kustana) mit einem Heer von 10.000 Mann und andererseits von Westen her Yaças, der Minister des Aśoka, mit einem Heer von 7.000 Mann gleichzeitig nach Khotan kamen und dort eine Kolonie gründeten, in der Yaças und seine Leute unter der Oberherrschaft des Kustana lebten. So wurde Khotan ein Land, wo Inder und Chinesen zusammen wohnten. Dieser Punkt wird in den *Annalen von Li-yul* besonders hervorgehoben:¹⁹

"Li-yul being a country half Chinese and half Indian, the dialect of the people (hphral-skad) is neither Indian

¹⁹ Rockhill, a.a.O. p. 236.

nor Chinese (i.e. a mixture of the two). The letters resemble closely those of India (Rgya).²⁰ The habits of the people are very similar to those of China. The religion and sacred (*clerical*) language are very similar to those of India."²¹

Mit der obigen Geschichte des Kustana hängt vielleicht auch eine Episode, die Aśvaghosa (鳴馬)²² in seinem *Ta-chuang-yän-ching lun* (大莊嚴經論) erzählt²³ zusammen:

我昔曾聞，漢地王子眼中生膜，遍覆其目，遂至暗明無所親見，種種療治不能瘳除。時竺又尸羅有諸商估來漢土，時漢國王問估客言，我子患目，爾遠來頗能治不。估客答曰，外國有一比丘瞿沙唯彼能治。王聞已即大資嚴便送其子向竺又尸羅國，到彼國已至尊者瞿沙所而作是言，吾從遠方教來療目，唯願哀愍爲我治眼。

“Früher habe ich einmal gehört: In den Augen eines Prinzen vom Lande Han wuchsen Häutchen, die das ganze Auge bedeckten, schliesslich verdunkelten sie sich, sodass er nichts mehr sehen konnte. Obwohl er sich auf alle möglichen Weisen behandeln liess, konnte er doch nicht geheilt werden. Damals gab es im Lande ‘Ch’u-ch’a-shih-lo’ (Takṣaśīla)²⁴ Kaufleute, die in das Reich der Han kamen. Da fragte der Han-Kaiser die Kaufleute und sagte: Mein Sohn leidet an den Augen. Ihr seid weit hergekommen, vielleicht könnt ihr seine Augen heilen?

²⁰ Das ist eine falsche Interpretation; unter Rgya ist China zu verstehen. Vgl. Stein, a.a.O. p. 581, Appendix E. Part I.

²¹ Dass später die Bewohner von Khotan in ihrem körperlichen Habitus den Chinesen sehr ähnlich waren, ergibt sich aus einer interessanten Stelle des Wei-shu (Kap. 102): 自高昌以西諸國人等深目高鼻。唯此國貌不甚胡。頗似華夏: “In den Ländern westlich von Kao-ch’ang (etwa Turfan) haben die Leute tiefliegende Augen und hohe Nasen. Nur in diesem Land (d.h. Khotan) sehen sie nicht sehr barbarisch aus, sondern gleichen ziemlich den Chinesen.”

²² Vgl. die *Biographie des Aśvaghosa-Bodhisattva* (馬鳴菩薩傳), Taishō-Trip. L, S. 183f. Seine Lebenszeit ist noch immer eine umstrittene Frage, die allgemeine Annahme geht aber dahin, dass er zur Zeit des Kaniska lebte. Vgl. Byōdō, a.a.O. S. 22f.

²³ *Sūtrālaṅkāra-sāstra*. Vgl. Kioto-Trip. XXI, 6, S. 33a. Nanjio-Kat. Nr. 1182. Byōdō, a.a.O. S. 63.

²⁴ Vgl. Ōshio’s Indien-Landkarte, I. 6.

Sie antworteten: Im Auslande gibt es einen Mönch, namens Ku-sha (Kuśa?), dieser allein kann sie heilen. Als der Kaiser das hörte, schickte er seinen Sohn mit vielem Geld und unter sicherem Geleit nach dem Lande Takṣaśīla. Als er hier angekommen war, ging er zu dem Ort, wo der verehrte Kuśa weilte, und sagte: Ich bin auf Empfehlung von weither gekommen, um meine Augen heilen zu lassen. Heile meine Augen durch deine Güte!"

In dieser Episode des *Ta-chuang-yän-ching lun* dürfen wir vielleicht eine Weiterbildung und Verknüpfung der vorher erwähnten Traditionen sehen, nach denen der älteste Sohn des Aśoka namens Kuṣāla seines Augenlichtes beraubt und in das Gebiet des Himālaya verbannt wurde,²⁵ von wo ihn sodann der Khotan-Tradition zufolge der Gott Vaiśravaṇa nach China entführte. Der Zusammenhang und der gleiche Ursprung wird umso deutlicher, als wir in beiden Geschichten²⁶ dieselben Namen für den Mönch und seine Heilmethode finden. Mag es sich hier auch um eine sagenhafte Erzählung handeln, so ist doch nicht zu leugnen, dass darin ein geschichtlicher Kern enthalten ist, der das Vorhandensein eines frühzeitigen Verkehr zwischen Indien, Khotan und China wahrscheinlich macht.

c. Wann wurde der Buddhismus
in Khotan eingeführt?

Nach den *Annalen von Li-yul* soll der Buddhismus im fünften Jahre der Regierungszeit des Königs Vijayasambhava, der ein Enkel des Kustana war und 165 Jahre nach der Reichsgründung den Thron bestieg, durch den indischen Priester Vairocana zum ersten Mal in Khotan eingeführt worden sein, d.h. also im Jahre 83 v. Chr. Offenbar handelt es sich aber hier nicht um die erste Einführung des Buddhismus überhaupt, sondern speziell um die des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus, der gerade damals entstand und in Khotan als

²⁵ Vgl. Anm. 18.

²⁶ Vgl. *Hsi-yü-chi* (Taishō-Trip. L, S. 885a).

¹ Vgl. Teramoto, a.a.O. S. 107.

Staatsreligion anerkannt wurde.² Für diese Annahme sprechen folgende Gründe: 1. Der Name des Priesters Vairocana ist mit der Lehre des *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (華嚴經),³ welche die höchste mahāyānistische Philosophie darstellt, fest verbunden. Da Nāgārjuna in seinem *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā-śāstra* (大智度論) dieses Sūtra erwähnt,⁴ sind wohl die Grundlehren des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus, wie sie in jenem Sūtra enthalten sind, bereits in vorchristlicher Zeit entstanden. 2. Die Mehrzahl der Mahāyāna-Texte, die nach der offiziellen Einführung des Buddhismus (unter Kaiser Ming) in China auftauchten, wurde aus Khotan dorthin gebracht. Wenn nun das *Sūrya-garbha* (-sūtra) behauptet, der Mahāyāna-Buddhismus sei bereits unter Aśoka in Khotan eingeführt worden,⁵ so ist diese Angabe vom geschichtlichen Standpunkt aus unhaltbar, da es zu jener Zeit einen Mahāyāna-Buddhismus überhaupt noch nicht gegeben hat. Die Schwierigkeiten lösen sich aber, wenn man mit Teramoto annimmt,⁷ der Ausdruck "Mahāyāna" bedeute an dieser Stelle soviel wie "eka-yāna" (wörtl.: "die einzige Lehre"). Das heisst mit anderen Worten: wenn tatsächlich der Buddhismus schon zu Aśokas Zeiten nach Khotan gelangte, so kann das nur die Richtung des Hīnayāna gewesen sein.⁸

Die Edikte des Aśoka berühren, wie wir oben gesehen haben, auch die Missionstätigkeit dieses Herrschers, sie enthalten jedoch keine direkte Angabe darüber, ob seine Missionare auch schon bis Khotan vordrangen. Dagegen findet sich in dem *A-yü-wang-hsi huai-mu yin-yüan ching*

² Teramoto behauptet so (in einer privaten Mitteilung an mich).

³ Kioto-Trip. IX, 2. Nanjio-Kat. 134.

⁴ Vgl. Kioto-Trip. XX, 1, S. 33a. Nanjio-Kat. Nr. 1169.

⁵ Vgl. Sakaino, a.a.O. S. 102.

⁶ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. XXIII, S. 294c/295a.

⁷ Vgl. Teramoto, a.a.O. S. 105f.

⁸ Teramoto erkennt an, dass der Buddhismus überhaupt unter Aśoka in Khotan eingeführt wurde (in einer privaten Mitteilung an mich).

(阿育王息壤目因緣經),⁹ einer Biographie von Aśoka's Sohn Kuṇāla, eine interessante, bisher noch unbekannte Stelle, die in diesem Zusammenhang Erwähnung verdient. Dort wird erzählt, wie Aśoka einen Boten nach Gāndhāra schickte, der die Verwaltung des Kuṇāla inspizieren und darüber dem Vater Bericht erstatten sollte. Der Gesandte kommt zurück und weiss über die Herrschertätigkeit Kuṇāla's nur das Beste zu berichten. Daraufhin sagt Aśoka zu seinem Minister Yaśas:

今當分此	閼浮利地	吾取一分	一分賜子
使我法益	長生壽考	治化人民	如今無違
新頭河表	至娑伽國	乾陀越城	烏特村聚
劍浮安息	康居烏孫	龜茲于闐	至于秦土
此閼浮半	賜與法益	綱理生民	垂名後世
師子曇羅	摩竭金根	維那舍衛	裸形垂耳
雪山北海	至于海際	吾躬訓化	

“Nun will ich die ganze Welt aufteilen; einen Teil will ich selbst nehmen und den anderen meinem Sohn schenken. So möge mein (Sohn) Fa-yi ein langes Leben und hohes Alter haben und sein Volk regieren und bilden, in der gleichen Weise wie bisher. Die Länder von der äusseren Seite (also wohl Süd-ostseite) des Indus bis Sankisa,¹⁰ Gāndhāra, Utkakhaṇḍa(?),¹¹ Chien-fou (Campā),¹² K'ang-ch'ü (Samarkand), Wu-sun, Ch'iu-tse (Kutscha) und Yü-t'ien (Khotan) und weiter bis zum Reiche der Ch'in, welche die Hälfte der ganzen Welt ausmachen, will ich dem Fa-yi schenken, damit er durch die Grundgesetze (der Moral) die Völker am Leben erhalte und seinen Ruhm auf die Nachwelt bringe. Ceylon, T'an-lo (Drāvida?), Mahā-svaṇṇa-bhūmi (Birma),¹³

⁹ Nanjio nennt dieses Werk "Sūtra on the Nidāna or cause of the eye-distruction of Fa-yi (Dharmavardhana?), the prince of Aśoka". Vgl. Taishō-Trip. LI, S. 174cf. Nanjio-Kat. Nr. 1369. Daraus ergibt sich, dass Fa-yi nur ein anderer Name des Kuṇāla ist.

¹⁰ Vgl. Ōshio's Indien-Landkarte, L. 9.

¹¹ 烏特 ist wohl identisch mit 烏鐸迦漢茶, bei Ōshio's Indien-Landkarte L. 5.

¹² 劍浮 wohl identisch mit 瞻波 bei Ōshio (a.a.O. H. 5).

¹³ Vgl. S. 261.

Vaiśālī,¹⁴ Śrāvastī,¹⁵ sowie die Länder, wo die Menschen nackt sind und hängende Ohren haben, und das Gebiet nördlich des Himālaya bis zu den Grenzen des Meers will ich selbst durch meine Lehren bilden.”

Bemerkenswert ist die Tatsache, dass Khotan hier unter den zum Herrschaftsreich des Kuṇāla gehörenden ländern aufgeführt wird. Leider kommt dieser Angabe kein grosser historischer Wert zu; das Werk, dem sie entnommen ist, wurde erst im vierten Jahrhundert n. Chr. von einem Priester aus dem Lande der Indoskythen (Yüeh-shih) ins Chinesische übersetzt. Halten wir jedoch diese Angabe mit dem zusammen, was die *Li-yul-Annalen* über die Verbannung des Kuṇāla nach Khotan berichten (s. oben S. 265), so spricht doch eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, dass der Buddhismus bereits in Verbindung mit Kuṇāla, dem Sohn des Aśoka, nach Khotan gekommen ist. Die folgende Untersuchung über den alten Verkehr zwischen Indien und Khotan soll nun die Einführung des Buddhismus in Khotan dem Bereich der blossen Möglichkeit entrücken und geschichtlich erhärten.

d. Der Verkehr zwischen Indien und Khotan.

Wie wir oben gesehen haben, behauptet Smith, die Missionare Aśokas hätten Khotan noch nicht erreichen können, da damals der Himālaya (oder besser Hindukusch) ein unübersteigbares Hindernis bildete. In Wirklichkeit ist Smith zu seiner Behauptung wohl dadurch gekommen, weil in den Edikten des Aśoka, die von seiner Missionstätigkeit berichten, der Name Khotan nicht erwähnt wird. Man darf aber hierbei nicht vergessen, dass diese Inschriften aus dem Jahre 259 v. Chr., also dem Anfang der Regirungszeit des Aśoka stammen. Da dieser erst im Jahre 232 v. Chr. starb, besteht immerhin die Möglichkeit, dass er seine Missionstätigkeit in den letzten drei Jahrzehnten seiner Herrschaft noch weiter

¹⁴ Vgl. Öshio's Indien-Landkarte, N. 9.

¹⁵ Vgl. Öshio's Indien-Landkarte, M. 9.

ausgedehnt hat. Ob zu ihrem Bereich auch schon Khotan gehörte, lässt sich urkundlich, nicht beweisen. Gleichwohl glaube ich, dass sich aus der Geschichte des zentralasiatischen *Seidenhandels* gewisse Anhaltspunkte für einen weit früheren Verkehr zwischen Indien und Khotan ergeben, die dann auch ein frühes Eindringen des Buddhismus an jenem Mittelpunkt des Seidenhandels wahrscheinlich machen.

Die Seide, die ursprünglich aus China stammte und in Griechenland unter dem Namen "serische Stoffe"¹ bekannt war, scheint bereits im 5. oder 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. über Zentralasien in die kaspische Ebene und weiter nach Persien und Indien gelangt zu sein, wahrscheinlich durch einen von Stamm zu Stamm gehenden Zwischenhandel.² Alexander's Feldherr Nearchos ist nach Richthofen³ der erste, der den Ausdruck "serische Stoffe" gebraucht, indem er erwähnt, dass solche Stoffe nach Indien gelangten. Wenn nun die Behauptung, dass der Import dieser Stoffe von Norden her erfolgte, tatsächlich durch indische Quellen gestützt wird, so unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, dass die Seide von Khotan nach Indien gebracht wurde. Richthofen hat die an der grossen zentralasiatischen Handelstrasse gelegene Stadt "Issedon serica," die anscheinend ein Haupthandelsplatz für die Seide gewesen ist, direkt mit Khotan, dem Yü-t'ien der

¹ Man nimmt im allgemeinen, dass das griechische Wort "ser" (Seide) und die davon abgeleiteten Wörter auf das chinesische "sse" (絲) zurückgehen (vgl. Conrady bei W. P. Wassiljew, *Die Erscheinung Chinas*, Leipzig, 1909, S. 205). Sollte aber "ser" nicht vielleicht mit dem chinesischen Worte "絹", das nach Naitō (vgl. Teramoto, a.a.O. S. 138) in der Han-Zeit "sin" ausgesprochen wurde und "Seide" bedeutet, zusammenhängen? Dazu würde das in den *Annalen von Li-yul* für "Seide" gebrauchte Wort "srin", das "sin" ausgesprochen wurde, gut passen? Da es in Tibet ursprünglich keine Seide gab, muss das Wort mit dem Gegenstand von Khotan dorthin gekommen sein.

² Vgl. Conrady, a.a.O. S. 205.

³ Richthofen, "China" Bd. I, Berlin 1877, S. 443.

⁴ Dass die älteste Verbindung zwischen Indien und China über Khotan ging, ist auch die Ansicht Chandra Dās (a.a.O. J.R.A.S. 1886, p. 193): "The earliest intercourse of the Indian with China was through Khotan which they called Chandana and it is very probable that they subsequently extend that designation to China."

Chinesen, identifiziert.⁵ Wenn auch die Tatsache, dass bereits um 300 v. Chr. die "serischen Stoffe" in Khotan bekannt waren, aus gleichzeitigen chinesischen Quellen sich nicht belegen lässt, so gewinnt doch in diesem Zusammenhang die von Hsüan-tsang überlieferte Nachricht,⁶ wonach Kustana, der Begründer des Königreiches Khotan, chinesische Seidenwürmer eingeführt habe, ein gewisses Gewicht. Jedenfalls beweist diese Notiz, dass zu Hsüan-tsangs Zeiten eine solche Tradition⁷ in Khotan noch lebendig war.

In diesem Zusammenhang verdient eine Notiz des wahrscheinlich schon aus dem ersten Jahrhundert stammenden⁸ Ta-p'i-po-sha lun (大毘婆沙論)⁹ besondere Bedeutung, weil sich daraus ergibt, wie bekannt die chinesische Seide damals in Indien war:

復有說者，諸方亦法爾勝事，謂支那國奴僕皆衣繒絹，餘方貴勝所不能得。印度等國乃至貧賤皆衣氎毛衣，餘方貴人亦不能得。

"Ein anderer Redner sagte: Überall gibt es irgendeinen durch die Natur bedingten Vorzug; so kleiden sich in "China" sogar Diener und Sklaven alle in Seide, wie man sie in anderen gleichfalls blühenden Ländern nicht bekommen kann. In Indien und anderen Ländern kleiden sich die Armen und Niedrigen in Wollkleider, wie sie anderswo selbst die Vornehmen nicht kaufen können."

Offenbar haben die indischen Kaufleute, die Khotan des Seidenhandelshalber aufsuchten und dort mit Chinesen in Berührung kamen, nach ihrer Rückkehr von dem Gesehenen übertriebene Schilderungen entworfen und auch erzählt, dass in China selbst die Diener sich in Seide kleideten. Die khotanesische Seide war nicht nur in Indien und im Abendlande bekannt, ihr Ruhm ist sogar bis nach Japan gedrun-

⁵ Vgl. Richthofen, a.a.O. S. 487f.

⁶ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. LI, S. 944cf.

⁷ Vgl. Stein, a.a.O. p. 229f. und Fig. D. iv, 5.

⁸ Vgl. Teramoto, a.a.O. S. 111.

⁹ *Abhidharma-kośa-mahā-vibhāṣa-sāstra*, Kioto-Trip. XXII, 6, S. 33a. Nanjio-Kat. Nr. 1264.

gen.¹⁰ Takakusu will sogar das englische Wort "cotton" aus dem Namen Khotan ableiten und meint, dieses bezeichnen eigentlich "seidene Watte."¹¹

B. Ch'in und Indien.

Während also auf der einen Seite indische Quellen es wahrscheinlich machen, dass schon unter Alexander dem Grossen zwischen Indien und Khotan ein direkter Verkehr bestand, sind andere Forscher noch weiter gegangen und haben nachzuweisen versucht, dass China bereits Jahrhunderte vorher gewisse Beziehungen zu den Ländern des Westens gehabt habe. In erster Linie glaubte man hierfür die angeblich im 10. Jahrhundert v. Chr. erfolgte Reise des chinesischen Königs Mu (穆天子) ins Reich der Hsi-wang-mu (西王母) anführen zu können.¹ Maspéro hat aber

²⁰ Das japanische Wort "Hata", das als zweites Glied eines Kompositums auch "Wata" ausgesprochen wird, bringt Takakusu (vgl. "Tōyō-Bunkwa-shi ni okeru Bukkyō no Chii 東洋文化史に於ける佛教の地位 oder "Die Stellung des Buddhismus in der Kulturgeschichte des Orients", Tokio 1930, S. 15) mit dem Wort "Khotan" in Verbindung. "Wata" bedeutet heute "Baumwolle", ursprünglich aber "seidene Watte". "Hata" hat verschiedene Bedeutungen, wie z. B. "Weber", "Webstuhl" (機), "Material zum Weben", "gewebter Stoff" (帛) etc. Takakusu meint, das Wort "Hata" sei aus der alten für Khotan gebrauchten Bezeichnung "割旦", die nach japanischer Lesung "Kattan" lautet, abgeleitet. Der Name Khotan scheint als Synonym für Seidenewebe zusammen mit dem Buddhismus bald nach der Einführung dieser Religion (552 n. Chr.) in Japan bekannt geworden zu sein. Merkwürdig ist, dass das Wort "Hata", das den "Weber" der Seidenstoffe bezeichnet, mit dem chinesischen Zeichen "Ch'in (秦) geschrieben wird. Die Weber sind ursprünglich aus China nach Japan gekommen und gaben an, dass ihre Urahnen aus "Ch'in" stammten, daher wurde ihnen der Familienname "Hata" (Ch'in) von der damaligen japanischen Regierung verliehen. Sollten diese Umstände nicht irgendwie mit der berühmten Seide von Khotan zusammenhängen?

²¹ Vgl. Takakusu, a.a.O. S. 15.

² Die bisherige Literatur verzeichnet H. Maspéro, "La China Antique", Paris 1927, p. 581/2. Bekanntlich wollte Charvannes (*Memoires Historiques* Bd. V, S. 480-489, Appendice II) unter dem Mu-t'ien-tzu nicht den König der Chou-Dynastie, sondern den gleichnamigen Herzog von Ch'in (659-621 v. Chr.) verstehen. Neuerdings hat T. Ogawa (小川琢治) "Untersuchung zur Biographie des Kaisers Mu" (穆天子傳考 Boku-Tenshi-den-Kō) sogar den Versuch gemacht, die

gezeigt, dass die Beschreibung dieser Reise (das sogenannte Mu-t'ien-tzü-chuan) keineswegs als geschichtliche Chronik, sondern als eine Art von Abenteuer-Roman aufzufassen ist.² Dagegen gibt auch Maspéro zu, dass China im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. unter den Einfluss neuer Ideen geriet, die durch die erste, allerdings noch schwache Berührung mit den Mittelmeerkulturen nach Osten gebracht wurden. Damals scheinen die Chinesen vor allem ihre Astronomie und Kosmologie unter fremdem Einfluss umgestaltet zu haben.³ Schon Conrady hatte versucht, eine sehr weitgehende Einwirkung indischer Gedanken auf das China des 4. Jahrhunderts nachzuweisen, wie sie vor allem der Taoismus enthalten soll (Yoga-Praxis, Lehre von der Seelenwanderung und dem "Heiligen," die Tierfarben des Chan-kuo-ts'ê u.s.w.)⁴ Neuerdings hat Sanaka ausgeführt, die Theorien des Tso Yen (騶衍) über die fünf Elemente und die "Genien" (僊人) seien nur Umbildung gewisser Gedanken, die schon in den Brāhmaṇas und Upaniṣaden enthalten seien;⁵ diese Ausführungen berühren sich also sehr eng mit den Conrady'schen Forschungen.

Es würde über den Rahmen der vorliegenden Arbeit

Reiseroute des Mu im einzelnen geographisch festzulegen; danach müsste der König bis in die Gegend nördlich von Turfan gekommen sein (vgl. Festgabe zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Prof. Kano, 狩野博士還暦紀念支那學論叢, Tokio 1928, S. 89-242).

² Maspéro, a.a.O.

³ Maspéro, "Die Einwirkung der abendländischen Kultur auf das China der Vor-Tsin-Zeit" (*Shigaku-Zasshi*, Bd. 40, 1929, S. 1ff.) und "Le mouvement scientifique et les influences étrangères" (*La China Antique*, p. 607ff.).

⁴ A. Conrady, "Indischer Einfluss in China im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.", (*Zeitschrift d. D.M.G.* Bd. LX, Leipzig 1906, S. 335-351). Auch S. Inoue (井上秀夫) ist davon überzeugt, dass die Theorien des Lao-tzü von gewissen Grundgedanken des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus beeinflusst seien (vgl. Lao-tse with critical and exegetical notes, comparing various renderings in Chinese, Japanese and English including new English versions: *Kanei Kōshō Rōshi no Shin-kenkyū*, 漢英考證老子的新研究 Tokio 1928, p. 29f.).

⁵ S. Sanaka (佐中莊), "Über das Ch'i der Wu-hsing" (五行の氣に就て), *Shigaku-Zasshi* Bd. 41, 1930 Jan. S. 101ff.

hinausgehen, wenn wir die von den oben erwähnten Forschern aufgeworfenen Probleme hier im einzelnen untersuchen wollten. Muss es somit auch fraglich bleiben, wie weit die chinesische Gedankenwelt vor der Ch'in-Zeit bereits von indischen Ideen beeinflusst war, so kann über die Tatsache eines frühzeitigen Verkehrs zwischen China und den Westländern kaum ein Zweifel bestehen. Nach Maspéro lag der Transithandel mit dem Fernen Osten in der Hand indischer, nicht iranischer Kaufleute;⁶ diese scheinen jedoch nicht bis in das eigentliche China, sondern nur bis Lan-chou (蘭州), wo die Schifffahrt auf dem Huang-ho begann, vorge drungen und dort auf den Machtbereich des Ch'in-Staates gestossen zu sein. Diese Tatsache würde auch erklären, warum China unter dem Namen jener Dynastie als deren Träger der grosse Ch'in-Shih-huang-ti erscheint, im Westen bekannt wurde.⁷

Dass der Ruhm des Shih-huang-ti selbst nach Indien gedungen war, ergibt sich aus einer Unterredung, die Hsüan-tsang mit dem König Silāditya⁸ von Indien hatte. Wenn sich daraus auch nichts über den Zeitpunkt ergibt, wo der Name des grossen Herrschers in Indien bekannt wurde, so ist doch die ganze Unterredung⁹ an sich so interessant, dass sie verdient, in extenso angeführt zu werden:

戒曰王勞已曰，自何國來將何所欲。對曰從大唐國來請求佛法。王曰大唐國在何方經途所亘去斯遠近。對曰當此東北數萬餘里，印度所謂摩訶至那是也。王曰嘗聞摩訶至那國有秦王天子早懷遠略興大慈悲拯濟含識，平定海內，風教遐被德澤遠洽，殊方異域慕化稱臣，民庶荷其亭育，咸歌秦王破陳樂，聞其雅頌予茲久矣，盛德之譽誠有之乎。大唐國者豈此卽是耶。對曰然至那前者王之國號，大唐者

⁶ Maspéro, a.a.O. (*Shigaku-Zasshi* Bd. 40, S. 10f und *La China Antique*, p. 608).

⁷ Zur Entstehung des Namens China vgl. P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XIII (1912) S. 737ff.

⁸ Er ist als Dichter namens Harśadeva bekannt. Vgl. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Bd. III, Leipzig 1922, S. 48f.

⁹ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. LI, S. 894f.

我君之國稱。昔末襲位謂之秦王，今已承統稱曰天子。前代運終群生無主，兵戈亂起殘害生靈。秦王從含弘心發慈愍，威風鼓扇群凶殄滅，八方靜謐萬國朝貢，愛育四生敬崇三寶，薄賦斂者刑罰而國有餘氓俗無穴，風猷大化難以備舉。

"The king Silāditya,¹⁰ after the fatigue of the journey was over,¹¹ said, "From what country do you come, and what do you seek in your travels?"

He said in reply, "I come from the great Tang country, and I ask permission to seek for the law (religious books) of Buddha."

The king said, "Whereabouts is the great Tang country? by what road do you travel? and is it far from this, or near?"

In reply he said, "My country lies to the north-east from this several myriads of li; it is the kingdom which in India is called Mahāchīna."

The king answered, "I have heard that the country of Mahāchīna has a king called Ts'in, the son of heaven, when young distinguished for his spiritual abilities, when old then (called) "divine warrior." The empire in former generations was in disorder and confusion, everywhere divided and in disunion; soldiers were in conflict, and all people were afflicted with calamity. Then the king of Ts'in, son of heaven, who had conceived from the first vast purposes, brought into exercise all his pity and love; he brought about a right understanding, and pacified and settled all within the seas. His laws and instruction spread on every side. People from other countries brought under his influence declared themselves ready to submit to his rule. The multitude whom he nourished generously sang in their songs of the prowess of the king of Ts'in. I have learned long since his praises sung thus in verse. Are the records (laudatory hymns) of his great (complete) qualities well founded? Is this the king of the great Tang, of which you speak?"

¹⁰ Beal, *Record of Western World*, Bd. II, p. 216f.

¹¹ Die Übersetzung ist hier falsch und muss etwa heissen: "Nachdem sich der König Silāditya für den Besuch bedankt hatte". Auch sonst ist Beals Übersetzung an manchen Stellen ungenau.

Replying, he said, "China is the country of our former kings, but the "great Tang" is the country of our present ruler. Our king in former times, before he became hereditary heir to the throne (before the empire was established), was called the sovereign of Ts'in, but now he is called the "king of heaven" (emperor). At the end of the former dynasty the people had no ruler, civil war raged on every hand and caused confusion, the people were destroyed, when the king of Ts'in, by his supernatural gifts, exercised his love and compassion on every hand; by his power the wicked were destroyed on every side, the eight regions found rest, and ten thousand kingdoms brought tribute. He cherished creature of every submitted with respect to the three precious ones. He lightened the burdens of the people and mitigated punishment, so that the country abounded in resources and the people enjoyed complete rest. It would be difficult to recount all the great changes he accomplished".....".

Mit "the king of Ts'in, son of heaven" ist hier ohne Zweifel der erste Kaiser der Ch'in-Dynastie gemeint, zu den "praises sung thus in verse" bemerkt Beal: "The reference to the songs sung in honour of this king illustrates the character of Sîlāditya, who was himself poet." Wir wissen natürlich nicht, woraus der König Sîlāditya im 7. Jahrhundert n. chr. seine Kenntnisse über Shih-huang-ti geschöpft hat, aber es ist anzunehmen, dass der Ruhm des grossen Herrschers schon frühzeitig nach Indien gelangt war und dort bis auf die Zeit des Sîlāditya fortlebte. So spricht auch dieser Umstand dafür, dass ein alter Verkehr zwischen Indien und China bestanden haben muss.

Was nun besonders die Beziehungen zwischen Khotan und China betrifft, so wurden diese schon oben kurz erörtert. Wenn Stein behauptet,¹² die politische Verbindung zwischen beiden Ländern habe erst unter Wu-ti (140-87) eingesetzt, so darf man daraus nicht den Schluss ziehen, dass China vorher mit Khotan noch keine Berührung gehabt habe. Nach

¹² Stein, a.a.O. S. 156.

Haneda¹³ ist bereits vor Chang Ch'ien (126 v. Chr.) chinesische Seide über Zentralasien nach Indien exportiert worden.

Jedenfalls unterliegt es heute keinem Zweifel, dass zwischen Indien und China bereits zur Ch'in-Zeit ein Handelsverkehr bestanden hat, für den Khotan den Umschlagsplatz bildete. Warum sollte dann bei dieser Gelegenheit nicht auch der Buddhismus, dessen Verbreitung von Aśoka offiziell gefördert wurde, nach Osten gekommen und über Khotan weiter nach China vorgedrungen sein! Freilich ist dieser Vorgang historisch nicht streng zu beweisen; es muss vorderhand genügen, die Möglichkeit und die tatsächlich gegebenen Vorraussetzungen hierfür aufgezeigt zu haben.

(To be continued)

KAISHUN OHASHI

¹³ T. Haneda (羽田亨), *Saiki Bunmei-shi Gairon* (西域文明史概論, Die Skizze der Kulturgeschichte der Westländer), Kioto 1931, S. 6.

AN OUTLINE OF THE AVATAMSAKA SUTRA

Of Mahayana sutras, the *Kegon*, the *Hokke* (*Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*) and the *Nehan* (*Nirvāṇa*) sutras are the most outstanding, and among these the *Kegon* is important because it is considered to be the teaching given out by the Buddha Śākyamuni just after his enlightenment, and in consequence, his enlightenment is made the centre or pivot of the sutra's substance.

The sutra is called *Avatamsaka* in Sanskrit and in Japanese *Kegon*. The full Japanese title is *Dai-hō-kō-butsu-kegon-gyo*: *dai*=great, *hō*=normative, *kō*=all-pervading, *butsu*=enlightened one, *kegon*=adorned with flowers. The title means: "How beautiful is the Enlightened One who has grasped the great all-pervading Truth which is the normative principle of the universe."

The scope of this sutra is very grand. On the ocean of it like a mirror everything is reflected and revealed. In form it is bold and grand, yet delicate and subtle. It is one of the supreme works of the world.

There are two complete translations, one in sixty volumes translated by Buddhabhadra of Northern India, in the Eastern Shin dynasty, 418-520 A.D. The *Kegon* sect uses this sixty-volume version. And one in eighty volumes was translated by Śikṣhananda, of the T'ang dynasty, 695-699.

The forty-volume sutra translated by Prajñā in 796-797, called the *Fugengyōgwanbon* "Practice and Vows of Samantabhadra" corresponds to the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. This forty-volume *Kegon* (*Gaṇḍavyūha*) together with the *Jūjikyō* (*Daśabhūmika*) and other sutras makes a complete *Avatamsaka*. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* occupies about a fourth of the *Avatamsaka* and is complete in itself. It is the *Nyūhokkaibon*, chapter on Entering into the Universe through the Practice and Vows of Samantabhadra, and describes the pilgrimage of a youth called Sudhana in his efforts to enter

the Dharmadhātu and his consultation with fifty-three good friends. It is the *Pilgrim's Progress* of Buddhism.¹

This sutra is not so much preached by Buddha himself, for he is for the most part silent; it is rather a dramatic description to reveal the contents of enlightenment. The Bodhisattvas and devas are active, but their activity is performed under the will of the Buddha, and the infinite varieties of activity shown are a revelation of the Buddha's power. This point must be remembered, that although he seems to be a silent participant he is in reality the true actor and preacher since all the others are performing and speaking through him. In so far as Buddha is the preacher he is Vairochana the Supreme Buddha, the Dharmakāya, rather than the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. According to this sutra, the human mind is the universe itself and identical with Buddha, and it is said that Buddha, Mind, and Beings are one and the same. This is a famous saying and expressive of Mahayana philosophy.

This sutra is said to have been spoken three weeks after Buddha's Enlightenment in a state of meditation and in the Dharmakāya form.

Samantabhadra plays a most important part. He is supposed to represent the student stage not yet in a perfect state of supreme enlightenment. But all the preaching is really the preaching of the Dharmakāya and is enlightenment or Truth itself which is personally called Vairochana. Exoterically, the Buddha in enlightenment may mean the mendicant under the Bō-tree, but esoterically he is the pervading and permanent Dharmakāya and this world is no longer an ordinary world but the universe, Dharmadhātu, consisting of interpenetrating worlds.

The action of the sutra takes place in seven places and there are nine assemblies. Of the seven places there are three on earth and four in heaven. Those on earth are:

¹ It is now being translated into English by Dr. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki of Ōtani University, Kyoto, and Editor of *The Eastern Buddhist*.

1. under the Bo-tree, 2. the bright palace, and 3. the Jetavana grove; and those in heaven are: 1. the dwelling of Indra, 2. the dwelling of Yama, 3. Tushita, the dwelling of Maitreya, and 4. the Taketsu or Paranirmita. The eighth assembly is the Jetavana Grove repeated and this gives the story of Sudhana's pilgrimage, the subject of the forty-volume *Kegon* or *Gaṇḍavyūha*. The assemblies take place in range from earth to heaven, and then to earth, again beginning with Śākyamuni's enlightenment under the Bo-tree, and then ranging to the heavens showing the unimpeded movement of the Buddha's mind.

Although the first seven assemblies make Vairocana the master, each assembly has its own central personality who unfolds the brightness of his wisdom through the power of the Buddha. Of all the Bodhisattvas, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra are the chief ones, Mañjuśrī representing Wisdom (*prajñā*) and Samantabhadra Practice (*caryā*). These two attributes are two aspects of the Buddha's enlightenment, for the contents of the Dharmakāya, Wisdom and Practice, complete the attainment of Enlightenment. Wisdom is necessary for the first step, but Practice completes the stride, so as Samantabhadra represents Practice, the stress of this sutra is put upon this Bodhisattva.

There are forty steps of Practice and among these are ten stages or Bhūmis. These ten stages are significant. The chapter on them is circulated as an independent sutra known as the *Jūjikyō* or *Daśabhūmika*. The last assembly is called the *Nyuhokkaibon* or "Entering the Dharmadhātu," and this is the chapter which also became independent bearing the title *Gaṇḍavyūha*.

The fifteenth chapter is the *Jūjuhōn* on the ten States and describes the stages of the Bodhisattva from "the cherishing the first thought for enlightenment" to the attainment of full Buddhahood.

In the sixteenth chapter the pure deeds of the Bodhisattva are described. Succeeding chapters enlarge upon

this theme. The twenty-fifth chapter is interesting because it preaches the doctrine of *Pariṇāmana* (*ekō*), the turning of merit for the salvation of others. Chapter Twenty-seven deals with the Vows of Samantabhadra. But the most illuminating chapter of all is the thirty-ninth describing the ninth assembly, "Entering into the Universe," and it is this chapter which makes up the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. It deals with belief, understanding, practice, and enlightenment, which are after all nothing but one's own mind, and this one mind enters into universality and becomes enlightenment itself.

Interpenetration is the doctrine taught in the *Kegon*. When we look at the world in the spiritual light of Vairocana Buddha, we see it full of radiance, indeed a world of pure light. Everything in this world is interpenetrating, everything is mutually conditioned and conditioning. All things are one and that one is the Supreme Reality which embraces them.

"All the Buddha-lands and all the Buddhas themselves,
Are manifested in my own being, freely and without
hindrance,

And even at the point of a single hair a Buddha-land
is perceived.

The Buddha-lands as innumerable as particles of dust,
Are raised from one thought cherished in the mind of
the Bodhihattva of Mercy (Samantabhadra),

Who, practising meritorious deeds in numberless
kalpas, hath led all beings to the Truth;

A Buddha-land resteth in every particle of dust,
And the spirit of the Buddha like a cloud covereth
and protecteth it.

"All lands are interpenetrating in the Buddha-land,
And they are countless in number,—a phenomenon
beyond our understanding:

There is nothing that does not fill up every quarter
of the universe,

And things are inexhaustible and immeasurable and
move with perfect spontaneity.

All the Buddha-lands are embraced in one Buddha-
land,

And each one of the Buddha-lands embraces in itself
 all the other lands;
 But the land is neither extended nor compressed.
 One land fills up all the ten quarters of the universe,
 And in turn the universe with all its contents is
 embraced in one land,
 And yet the world as it is suffers no damage.
 "In every particle of dust throughout the Buddha-
 world,
 The creative power of Vairochana Buddha is per-
 ceivable;
 His voice resoundeth over the ocean of universal
 salvation,
 And wherein all beings are brought under his
 control."¹

When we do not see this radiant world of the Buddha's enlightenment in which Pure World everything is interpenetrating, the Buddha feels sorrow for beings and puts forth his activity to help all these beings to attain enlightenment. The Bodhisattvas follow him and through their own practice of the six virtues of perfection (*pāramitā*) help suffering beings to attain supreme enlightenment.

"The Buddha is our refuge, unsurpassed and peerless,
 He removeth the sufferings of all beings;
 If they desire to see him face to face,
 He appeareth to them like the full moon over the
 mountain high."²

Now let us consider the *Gaṇḍavyūha*.

Once Buddha dwelt at Śrāvastī in the grove of Jetavana in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍika. In that assembly there were five hundred Bodhisattvas headed by Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī. All the members of the assembly were waiting for the Buddha to preach. Then he entered Samādhi (deep meditation) and as soon as he did so the forests of Jevātana suddenly became so wide that they became filled with an inexpressible number of worlds and many Bodhisattvas from the ten quarters came and worshipped the Bud-

¹ *Avatamsaka Sutra*, translated by D. T. Suzuki.

² *Ibid.*

dha, composing verses of praise. Buddha issued a ray of light from between his eyebrows and illumined the Bodhisattvas and all the ten quarters and thereby the Bodhisattvas were filled with compassion to benefit all beings.

Mañjuśrī went out from the Pratisthana to the human world going south and preached the Mahayana doctrine to many people. While he was staying in the city of Dhanyakara, among his audience of listeners was a handsome youth of a noble family, Sudhana. While Sudhana was listening with the desire to learn, lead, and perfect the life of a Bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī looking over the audience perceived the young Sudhana and knew his aspiration, so he advised him thus: "You must find a true friend to help you in your search. Go to Myōhō Mountain in the country of Shoraku and there you will find a Bikhshu Sagaramegha (Tokuun). He will give you good advice."

Sudhana set out on his journey, visited Sagaramegha who taught him wisely and then sent him on to another friend. In this way he was sent to one friend after another until fifty-two friends in all had been visited, and at last he came to Samantabhadra, under whose teaching he perfected his vow and entered into the Dharmadhātu (Supreme Reality).

In this story of Sudhana we can see that Samantabhadra plays the chief part as master and Mañjuśrī as the guest, and the activity of both of them is represented by the youth Sudhana who visits fifty-three good friends seeking advice and finally attains entrance to the Dharmadhātu. It is the story of Enlightenment of "entering into the universe" by means of the practice and vows of the religious life of Samantabhadra.

In regard to the good friends whom Sudhana visited besides Mañjuśrī who appeared three times and Samantabhadra and first and the last, there were fifty in all. What kind of persons were they? If we classify them we will find that there were five Bodhisattvas, five monks, one nun,

eight householders, a physician, a perfume seller, a sailor, two kings, two laymen, four laywomen three of whom were ladies and one a heavenly maiden, several children, a number of deities, a mendicant, a hermit, and two Brahmins.

In the *Gandavyūha*, we find the Mahayana tendency to lay stress upon lay people rather than upon monks, and among all the friends we find only five monks. Not all of the friends were aristocratic and wealthy. One was a perfume seller, one a sailor, and one woman a courtesan.

Sudhana during his pilgrimage was seeking without by asking help of others and he passed through many experiences mental and spiritual, but later he realised that true knowledge must come from within. The fifty-third friend was Maitreya who directed Sudhana to go to Mañjuśrī to ask about the law by which he could enter into Samantabhadra's religious life.

The last volume of the sutra is devoted to Samantabhadra's Ten Vows and the desire to be born into Sukhāvativyūha (that is, Pure Land).

The Ten Vows of Samantabhadra are:

1. To worship the Buddhas;
2. To praise the Tathagatas;
3. To make offerings to all the Buddhas;
4. To confess past sins;
5. To rejoice in the virtues and happiness of others;
6. To request Buddha to preach the Law;
7. To request Buddha to live in this world;
8. To study Buddhism in order to teach it;
9. Always to benefit all beings;
10. To turn the stock of merit to others.

These vows are the basis of the Bodhisattva's life in Mahayana Buddhism. This last part concerning Samantabhadra's Vows has been issued separately, and is known as the *Fugengyōgwanbon* ("Practice and Vow of Samantabhadra").

The story of Sudhana is ultimately an epitome of the

entire *Kegon* sutra. In the background is always the Dharmakāya. Every activity depicted is really the activity of Dharmakāya. It is a sutra of Enlightenment and emphasises the fact that all beings can be reborn in the house of the Buddha if they obtain enlightenment. The previous portions of the *Avatamsaka* emphasise this and the Sudhana chapter states it practically.

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI

THE TEACHING OF IPPEN SHŌNIN (1239-1289,

1

The following is one of the letters by Ippen in which we find his teaching of the Nembutsu characteristically expounded:

"In your previous letter, you asked me to write what mental equipment is necessary for the Nembutsu followers. To this I must reply that beside reciting Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu no mental equipment is necessary and that except saying this there is no faith. It is true that we have various doctrines taught by various scholars but they are merely provisional, being set against varieties of confused thoughts. It is good for the Nembutsu followers, therefore, not to worry about these things but devote themselves to reciting the Nembutsu. When Kūya Shōnin¹ was once asked in what state of mind one should recite the Nembutsu, he answered simply, "Abandon", and did not say anything further. This is recorded in Saigyō's *Senjūshō*.² This saying is really the

¹ Kūya (903-972), whose other name was Kōshō, is said to have been an Emperor's son. He became a monk in his twenties and learned various doctrines of Buddhism, but afterwards believed in the Pure Land teaching and propagated the "Dancing Nembutsu" among the common people and was called the "Saint of the Market", for he exhorted the Nembutsu in the market thronged with people. He was also a social worker; going throughout the country, he built many bridges, dug wells, nursed lepers and other loathesome patients, cremated deserted corpses, and so forth. He had much influence on Ippen.

² Saigyō (1118-1190), a priest-poet. As a layman, he was called Yoshiakiyo Satō and was a samurai in the service of the Imperial Household. He became a monk, realising the uncertainty of life by the sudden death of his friend. He is noted, however, more as a poet than as a priest. The famous *Sangashū* is a collection of his poems. The *Senjūshō* here mentioned contains anecdotes of this celebrated priest, his personal observations while travelling all over the country, and many interesting talks on poetry.

golden rule. The Nembutsu followers abandon wisdom, folly, the knowledge of good and bad, the thought of one's social position, noble and mean, high and low, the fear of hell, the desire for a land of happiness, and even the aspiration for enlightenment as exhorted by different schools of Buddhism. In short the Nembutsu followers abandon all these. When the Nembutsu is thus recited, it is in perfect accord with the incomparable Original Vow of Amida. When the Nembutsu is recited without interruption with this frame of mind, there is no thought of Buddhahood or self-hood, not to say anything about the presence of an argumentative mood; the world of good and bad is no more than the Land of Purity itself and beside this there is nothing for which we cherish a desire or from which we turn away. The universe, with all its beings, sentient and non-sentient, with blowing winds and roaring waves, is no other than the Nembutsu. You must not imagine that man is the only being who is embraced by the incomparable Vow. But if my words are hard to understand, leave them as they are, giving no further thoughts to them, and just recite the Nembutsu putting your absolute trust in the Original Vow. As for the Nembutsu, whether you recite it with a believing heart or not, it never fails to be in accord with the incomparable Original Vow of *tariki*. In the Original Vow of Amida, nothing is wanting and nothing is superfluous. Beside this, what mental equipment do you wish to have? Only going back to the state of mind found in a simple-minded Nembutsu devotee, recite the Nembutsu. Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu."¹

2

When we contrast Eastern thought with Western, we cannot but acknowledge that each has its characteristic feature, the Eastern in its unifying power and the Western in its analysis. The oriental mind always seeks to go back

¹ Ippen's letter to Kōgan Sōzu, contained in Ippen's Sayings.

to the original oneness from which we come, to one undivided reality where there is no such opposition as subject and object, while the occidental mind always wants to come out of the oneness of things, analysing it into an infinite variety of multitudes. The Westerners are expansive and the Easterners are inclusive. Things oriental all follow this rule. Food, clothes and dwelling of the East testify to this statement. This inclusiveness and unifying tendency is what may be termed Buddhistic in a broad sense.

It is true that there are many schools and branches in one Buddhism properly to be so called, but how diverse its expressions may be, the one spirit of Buddhism pervades them all. The difference between the Zen and the Pure Land, between the Shin and the Nichiren, is only the difference in form which is determined by the temperament of the founder of each sect, and according to the circumstances in which he moved. But this difference sometimes ceases to be noticeable, for instance in the case of Ippen, in whom the Pure Land ideas are perfectly mingled with those of Zen Buddhism. In the following pages I wish to study this character who is the founder of the Ji Sect.¹

3

Of all the Pure Land masters advocating the Nembutsu, the celebrated Ippen differs most widely from others. He is not only a Pure Land devotee but in a sense a Zen Buddhist. As far as the Nembutsu is concerned, he does not differ from that of the other Pure Land followers, but Ippen's Nembutsu is identifiable with the One as referred to in the Kōān exercise of Zen Buddhism. He did not lay so much stress on faith as some Pure Land masters did, but

¹ In its flourishing days, there were twelve branches in it but they are now united into one. Its headquarters is Shōjō-kōji at Fujisawa near Yokohama. The number of the temples belonging to this sect is about five hundred and that of the believers 216,000, according to recent statistics.

he told us to direct our thought exclusively to the practice of the Nembutsu which is also the discipline advocated by Zen masters. Thus he says: "When the Nembutsu is recited without interruption in this frame of mind (giving up all other thoughts), there is no thought of Buddhahood or selfhood, not to say anything about the presence of an argumentative mood; the world of good and bad is no more than the Land of Purity itself and beside this there is nothing for which we cherish a desire or from which we turn away."¹

This peculiarity of his teaching may be ascribed to his own inner understanding but it may also be considered coming from the various external influences which he underwent while going through all forms of trials and hardships in this actual life.

4

Ippen, whose posthumous name was Enshō Daishi, was born in 1239, twenty-seven years after the death of Hōnen (1133-1212) who was the father of all the Pure Land schools in Japan. The time was when the social revolution in the Kamakura period had been completed, although the agitation thus caused in the minds of people had not yet settled down. Owing to this social condition, the newly-born schools of Buddhism were asserting themselves strongly among the people. The teachings of Zen and the Pure Land doctrine had already taken deep root and the Nichiren had about come to the front.

From his childhood, Ippen was very clever and was sent to a temple while still young to study Buddhism. At ten he lost his mother, and when thirteen was sent to Harayama in Kyūshū where he further pursued his study of Buddhism under Shōtatsu, a disciple of Shōkū² who was the founder of the Seizan School of Pure Land Buddhism.

¹ Ippen's letter to Kōgan Sōzu.

² Shōkū. See the *Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 80ff.

He stayed here for twelve years, when his father's death brought him back to his native place. This death of his father's and the subsequent family troubles made him realise the illusiveness and meaninglessness of this life. This must have been his state of mind at that time: "Life is like a bubble; there is nothing left when it disappears. The duration of human life is like a shadow cast by the moon. It does not wait for the inhaled breath to come out once more. . . . It is indeed a lamentable fact that since time immemorial we have not been able to procure what we desire."¹

In this mood, he stayed for some time in his native place, now studying and now engaged in worldly matters. One day he wandered out and found several boys in the street playing with a *riugo*, a toy which is made to dance along a line tightly held between two hands. To divert his mind perhaps, he joined them and when he took up the *riugo* himself, it slipped off the string, and fell on the ground rolling away. The incident, with no significance in itself, impressed him deeply. His mind's eye is said to have suddenly opened as if the scales dropped off his eyes.

"Hereupon I realised," later he told Shōkai, one of his disciples, "that our transmigration is exactly like this spinning of *riugo*. The *riugo* spins when we let it go; but it keeps quiet when we check its moving. So is our transmigration. An incessant passing from one state to another throughout the six paths of existence is due to our evil doings in the triple way of speech, body, and mind. Therefore, when we stop our evil doings, no transmigration can take place. Here for the first time in my life I clearly saw where the bondage of birth and death is and what Buddhism means to us all sentient beings."²

¹ Betsugan Wasan (Hymn of the Special Vow).

² Ippen-Hijiri-E (Ippen-the-Saint-Pictures). One of the most famous picture-scrolls in Japan. The pictures were painted by En-i and the explanatory passages were written by Shōkai, a disciple of Ippen's. Also called Rokujyō Engi.

5

Now it is quite natural that this awakening caused inner struggles in him. He saw, according to the Buddhist way of thinking, the actual state of pain in "our transmigration", and the cause of it in "our evil doings" or "the bondage of birth and death." He saw at the same time that we can get out of the actual pain when we are delivered from our evil doings. But to know is one thing and to actually experience is quite another. Are we not originally defiled? Is not this world originally incomplete? How can we be delivered from our evil doings?

Let me quote another of his sayings which illustrates his state of mind at that time. "This triple world is indeed transient and conditioned. Everything here is uncertain and vision-like. Therefore, no matter how earnest our desire and endeavour may be, we cannot be living here for ever nor attain peace of mind, as a boat upon the rough waves of the ocean cannot be kept from rocking."¹

His soul was wrung with agony and he set out on his pilgrimage in the quest of the truth which liberates. He visited masters one after another to show him the way of salvation. He prayed at shrines and temples for the way of deliverance. But he failed to find a way to escape the result of karma. Eight years were passed thus in storm and stress.

6

In the spring of 1271, he came to Shinano province and for several days he confined himself in Zenkōji temple and offered prayers to Amitabha Buddha to be saved; and in the autumn of the same year, he came back to his native place and began the Nembutsu practice in a hut, secluding himself from the outer world. This Nembutsu practice continued for three years when his mind was matured. His inward eye opened. He gradually came to see into the original one-

¹ Ippen's Sayings.

ness of things. He moved a step toward the realisation, which can be seen in the following poem composed at the end of three years' seclusion.

"Ten kalpas ago, Amida attained Buddhahood in the world of all sentient beings.

In one instant when we call on his name, we are reborn in the Land of Amida.

When we realise that the ten kalpas past and the one instant are not two, here no-birth is realised.

When we realise that Amida's Land and our world are one, we join the Bodhisattvas' Great Assemblage."

Amitabha Buddha and we sentient beings, the Pure Land and this defiled world, the ten kalpas elapsed since Amida's attainment of Buddhahood and this very instant of our calling on Amida's name—these are not dualities the one opposing the other, but the two aspects of one Reality. "Na-mu-a-mida-butsu" expresses this truth, for it signifies the simultaneous accomplishment of Amida's Buddhahood and of our rebirth in the Pure Land. Accordingly, when we understand this by means of the Nembutsu, we come to a higher world where nothing is born or created and where the great Bodhisattvas are assembled.

What Ippen states here is the *tariki* life foreshadowed. Hitherto he sought for the way of salvation in the *jiriki* life, discriminating with his own intellect between sentient beings who are ignorant and the Buddha who is enlightened, between a life short and meaningless and a life eternal and full of meaning; and he endeavoured, relying on his own efforts, to give up the former and obtain the latter. But now he recognises that this way of thinking is of no avail. Because, as he says, "In the *jiriki* way of thinking where our ego works, we imagine that we can be ourselves learn and practise the way of severing ourselves from the bondage of birth and death. This inevitably tends to cultivate in us a feeling of pride in self-assertiveness, and this at the same time tends to assume a contemptuous attitude towards

others, because of learning and discipline attained by ourselves."¹ As long as one stays in this state of mind, there is no spiritual equanimity which is sought after by all religious souls. This is where the *jiriki* fails.

Thus he was obliged to turn his eye from outward attainments to the inner self. He dug deeply down into the contents of inner self and found there his own defiled self and the defiling passions and was convinced that these passions are the cause of pain. He dug further into the contents of his inner self and here he perceived the original oneness where there are no discriminations, no opposites such as subject and object, but where Buddha is unified with us, and this world with the Pure Land. He saw that, when we get out of the false discriminations and go back to the original oneness, there is a life eternal and full of meaning. To effect this, he thought, we must understand the Nembutsu which is the name of the original oneness. When it is understood, there is nothing bothering us. When we live life as we find it, there is no more trouble with anything.

Then let us live our life as we find it, believing the doctrine of *Ichinen* ("one-thought"). Here is our deliverance. So he thought. His soul's agony subsided. Now full of joy, he wished to give this truth to people in general. He left Iyo, which was his native place, and came to Osaka and at Shitennōji he preached his first sermon, emphasising faith in the doctrine of *Ichinen* and distributing cards bearing the name of Buddha.

7

This idea of *tariki* was not final with him. For it was still a philosophical interpretation and not a religious experience. Even though non-duality was here emphasised, it was not yet strictly monistic. Because there were yet two things, the idea and the one who grasps it. While in this

¹ Ippen's Sayings.

state, we cannot escape anguish which is caused by our inability to attain the state of identification. Not long after his first sermon, he had a chance to testify to his faith, which was to be elevated into a still higher sphere of religious experience.

He was one day on his way from Kōya to Kumano in 1275. As usual, he went on exhorting the Nembutsu and distributing cards with the name of Buddha. He met a priest and said to him, "Please accept this card and say Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu, believing in the doctrine of *Ichinen*." The priest answered, "I have no faith in it just now. If I accept this card, I shall be deceiving you." Ippen retorted, "You believe the sutra, do you not? If you do, why should you reject this card?" The priest said, "I believe the sutra but I have no faith yet in the doctrine of *Ichinen* and I am powerless." While they are thus arguing, people gathered about them. Ippen thought, "If this priest does not accept my card, people around here may not also accept it." Reluctantly he said to the priest, "Never mind, then, about your faith. Just accept this card." So the card was given to him which also made the bystanders accept it by his example.

This incident stirred in him a feeling of uneasiness. Was it not for all sentient beings that Amida vowed and worked and attained Buddhahood, whereby our rebirth in the Pure Land is assured? If there is any single person who cannot embrace this faith in *Ichinen*, Amida's Vow and Attainment will come to nought. How was it that that priest had to confess his inability to believe in *Ichinen*?

8

Troubled with these questions, he came to Kumano Shrine where Kumano Myōjin was enshrined. The Myōjin was believed at that time to be the incarnation of Amida himself, temporarily manifesting in the form of a Japanese god in order to save the people there. He shut himself in

the shrine and prayed to the Myōjin to solve his questions for him. He fell asleep. The Myōjin in a white robe appeared to him, saying, "You are a holy man, engaged in the propagation of the Nembutsu of Interpenetration, but why do you resort to such a bad method of propagation! That all sentient beings are reborn in the Pure Land is because Amida attained Buddhahood ten kalpas ago as Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu, and not because you propagate the teaching. Distribute your cards, therefore, without discriminating recipients, whether they are good men or not, whether they have faith or not."

The faith thus revealed to him by the Myōjin of Kumanō made him experience the deepest truth of the *tariki* doctrine of salvation. Tradition tells us that, with this unexpected revelation of the truth, he was filled with joy and jumped up into the inner shrine, exclaiming, "I in this earthly body am Buddha." Two poems were composed by him.

One of them is:

"Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu is Ippen's faith,
The ten worlds with all their contents primary and
secondary are Ippen's body,
Ten thousand deeds detached from thoughts—this is
Ippen's Realisation.
One who understands this is of all beings the most ex-
quisite of lotus flowers."

The other is:

"In Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu
No birth-and-death from the first;
When it is recited even for once,
No-birth is instantly realised."

Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu is the content of Ippen's faith, in which he was delivered from the bondage of birth and death. When Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu is recited with singleness of thought, it puts an end to all kinds of delusion, bringing us back to the original oneness which is the state of no-birth-and-death. This absolute faith in the Nembutsu is the last

word to our false discriminations and any other forms of faith, whatever their claims may be, lie in the world of attachment. They are unable to effect final emancipation. Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu alone assures us of the rebirth in the land of the Buddha Amitābha.

Outside Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu Ippen has no mind-and-body of his own. For merged in it is Ippen's entire being, together with all sentient beings. All sentient beings are Ippen himself and Ippen is all sentient beings. The Nembutsu is thus the universe itself and from this oneness rises this world of an infinite multiplicity. Although defiled by our attachments, the world itself is pure and unspoiled. Ippen's faith in Nembutsu is this faith in the original essential purity of all things as viewed from the point of identification.

In the *Banshū-Mondō-Shū*¹ compiled by one of his disciples we read, "Our practice does not consist in the meditating on a no-form and no-thought, nor does it aim at the realisation that your self-nature is no other than Buddha himself; as we are beings of inferior wisdom and forever in the bondage of birth and death, what we have to do is to abandon ourselves, mind and body, to the Original Vow with the absolute faith in it. When the Nembutsu is recited thus with singleness of thought, there is just one Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu in which there is neither self nor Buddha. Is this not the meditation which seeks for the identity of self-nature and Buddha, is this not the realisation of no-form and no-thought? So in the Meditation Sutra we have a state of recognition of no-birth (*anutpattikadharmakshānti*) when there is a sudden outburst of enlightenment." This sums up the thesis of Ippen's faith. Those who realise this state of mind are the most excellent ones and compared to the white lotus flowers growing out of mud, the most beauti-

¹ This book is said to be the record of Ippen's answers to the questions set by a disciple of his. It clearly elucidates his position in Pure Land Buddhism.

ful of all flowers, which are said to blossom once in one thousand years.

Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu—there is here no mixture of self and therefore no birth and death. Birth and death belong to this world where our egoism rules. It is this Nembutsu that assures us of our rebirth.

Ippen thus upholds the life of the absolute *tariki*. Finding no way to save himself in the *jiriki*, nothing was left to him but to turn to *tariki*; in the beginning even in the *tariki* it remained with him on the conceptual plane of thought, which finally ripened into a personal experience. As long as *tariki* presented itself in the form of a concept, he still had to struggle to go beyond into the sphere of absolute conviction. He knew that the way was opened before him but that he was not actually walking in it. This struggle lasted for a while until he came to the Myōjin of Kumano where he was finally enabled to come to the experience of realisation. The understanding as long as it is a form of intellection is the result of discrimination. This discrimination comes from ignorance. However excellent our understanding is, it still harbours the shadow of ignorance, hence falsehood. Enlightenment is not found here which grows only from Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu.

In this Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu everything finds its way. There is no longer he who is in the bondage of birth and death, nor is there Buddha who attained enlightenment. The universe is in the state of *mu* (nothingness) in its original features. Troubles are gone and doubts disappear. The stronghold of egotism is fallen at last. When a man is in this state, he is completely liberated. There is nothing that checks living his own life.

Ippen was now in this state of mind and for the first time realised that he was now a completely new person identified with Amida; his mind was Amida's mind, his life was Amida's life, and his words were Amida's words. He realised that the universe, with all its sentient and non-

sentient beings, with its blowing winds and roaring waves, was no other than the Nembutsu itself. He was an absolutely free man in this world of relativity.

A new life dawned on him. He began to propagate his doctrine throughout the country, distributing cards with Buddha's name and sometimes dancing to the Nembutsu-recitation. After fifteen years' journey of this Nembutsu propagation, he ended his earthly career in 1289 at Hyogo at the age of fifty-one.

9

In conclusion let me quote Ippen's letter to a Tendai priest called Shinnen Shōnin. "That we come to know one another in this world is the result of our previous friendship in many lives and that we all believe in one Buddha is a matter for joy. Birth-and-death is a delusion resulting from ego-attachment and enlightenment is gained when one mind is detached from disturbing thoughts. As there is no such thing as birth-and-death from the first, even learning cannot do away with it. As there is no such thing as enlightenment from the first, no meritorious deeds can get it for us. Nevertheless those who do not study grow all the more ignorant as to how to obtain their own deliverance, and those who do not practise those meritorious deeds are liable all the more to transmigrate in the six paths of existence. This being the case, we must devote ourselves to the practice of meritorious deeds abandoning thought and body and using up all our mental energy. This is the truth embraced alike by the Pure Land as by the Holy Path Buddhists, though they may express it differently according to their respective terminology. Therefore, the *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra* has this, 'What I love is not my body, is not my life, but the supreme enlightenment,' and the *Meditation Sutra* says, 'After living this body, we are assured to be reborn in our next life in the Land of Purity.' As the Holy Path teaching is *jiriki*, it is quite natural for its fol-

lowers to realise the truth by abandoning their all, body and life. As the Pure Land teaching is *tariki*, its followers give themselves, body and life, to Amitabha Buddha and attain Buddhahood after their death. For the salvation of common mortals that we are, there is no other way than to recite the Nembutsu with singleness of thought. In the *Smaller Sukhavativyūha Sutra*, we read, those who recite the Nembutsu will be protected by all the Buddhas innumerable in number and in the six quarters, and are sure to be reborn in the next life in the Land of Purity. Outside Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu there is no mind-and-body which I can call mine; the Nembutsu pervades all sentient beings, which is Ippen himself...."

SHIZUTOSHI SUGIHARA

GENSHA¹ ON THREE INVALIDS

Preliminary Remark

When gates and courts are established, then there are twos, there are threes, there is a realm of multiplicities; when a deep discourse is carried on the highest subjects of intuition a world of sevens and eights is thoroughly broken through. According to the ways in which views are presented, they are crushed to pieces so that the barricades even when they are of golden chains are successfully brushed aside. When orders are given from the highest quarters, all traces are wiped off, leaving nothing whereby trailing is made possible. When do we come across such a *koan*? Let one who has an eye on the forehead see to it.

The Illustrative Case

Gensha gave the following sermon:

"It is asserted by all the worthy masters of the present time that they are working for the benefit of all beings. [—Each keeps a shop according to his means.—Some are rich and others are poor.]

"This being the case, what will you do if here suddenly appear before you three kinds of invalids? [—By beating up the weeds, we mean to frighten snakes out.—As for me, it makes my eyes open wide and my mouth close.—We all have to beat a retreat even for three thousand *li*.]

"Those who are blind fail to see you even when you hold up a mallet or a *hossu*. [—Blind to the very core.—This is no other than "benefitting all beings"—Not necessarily failing to see.]

"Those who are deaf fail to hear you even when you may talk volubly enough. [—Deaf to the very core!—This is no other than "benefitting all beings"—Not necessarily altogether deaf.—That something is still unheard.]

"Those who are dumb fail to speak out whatever under-

¹ 玄沙 (Hsüan-sha), 835-908.

standing they may have inwardly. [—Dumb to the very core!—This is no other than “benefitting all beings.”—Not necessarily altogether dumb.—That something is still left untold of.]

“What treatment are you going to accord to such people? If you do not know how to go on with them, Buddhism must be said to be lacking in miraculous works.” [—Quite true, this word—I am ready to give myself up with my hands folded.—“Benefitting” already accomplished!—“He then struck.”]

A monk asked Ummon (Yün-mên) to be enlightened. [—It is also important to go about and inquire.—Hit!]

Said Ummon, “You make bows.” [—As the wind blows, the grass bends.—Ch’ua!]

When the monk rose from making bows, [—This monk’s staff is broken!]

Ummon poked him with a staff, and the monk drew back. Said Ummon, “You are not blind then?” [—Blind to the very core!—Do not say that this monk has a failing eye-sight.]

Ummon now told him to approach, and the monk approached. [—Washed with a second dipperful of dirty water.—Kwan-non is come!—To give a “*Kwatz!*” was better.]

Said Ummon, “You are not deaf then?” [—Deaf to the very core!—Do not say that this monk is deaf in his ears.]

Ummon further continued, “Do you understand?” [—Why does he not feed him with the right forage?—Pity that he then at all uttered a word.]

“No, master, I do not,” was the reply. [—A double *koan!*—What a pity!]

Ummon said, “You are not dumb then?” [—Dumb to the very core!—What eloquence!—Do not say that this monk is dumb.]

The monk now grasped the point. [—Stretching the bow when the burglar is off.—What old bowl is he after?]

Commentary Notes

Gensha gives this sermon from his standpoint where he is now able to sit, after years of his study of Zen, in absolute nakedness with no trumpery trimmings about him, altogether shorn of imaginations and free from conceptualism. In those days there were many Zen monasteries each of which rivalled the others. Gensha used to give this sermon to his monks:

"It is asserted by all the worthy masters of the present time that they are working for the benefit of all beings. This being the case, what will you do if here suddenly appear before you three kinds of invalids? Those who are blind fail to see you even when you hold up a mallet or a *hossu*. Those who are deaf fail to hear you even when you may talk volubly enough. Those who are dumb fail to speak out whatever understanding they may have inwardly. What treatment are you going to accord to such people? If you do not know how to go on with them, Buddhism must be said to be lacking in miraculous works."

If people understand him here as merely making reference to the blind, to the deaf, to the dumb, they are vainly groping in the dark. Therefore, it is said that you are not to search for the meaning in the words which kill; you are requested to enter directly into the spirit itself of Gensha, when you will grasp the meaning.

As Gensha ordinarily tested his monks with this statement, a monk who was staying for sometime with him one day accosted him when he came up to the Dharma-hall, and asked: "Do you allow me to present my way of reasoning about your sermon on the three invalids?" Gensha said, "Yes, you may go on." Whereupon the monk remarked, "Fare thee well, O master!" and left the room. Gensha said, "Not that, not that." We can see that this monk has fully grasped Gensha.

Later on, Hōgen (Fa-yen, died 958) made this state-

ment: "When I listened to Master Jizo (Ti-tsang) making reference to this monk's remark, I was enabled to understand Gensha's sermon on the three invalids."

I ask you now. "[Here is a puzzle for you, O monks!] If that monk did not understand Gensha, how was it that Hōgen made this statement of his? If that monk understood Gensha, why did the latter declare, 'Not that, not that'?"

One day Jizō said to Gensha, "I am told that you have given a sermon on the three invalids, is that so?" Gensha answered, "Yes." Jizō then said, "I have my eyes, ears, nose, and tongue; what treatment would you give me?" Gensha was quite satisfied with this request on the part of Jizō.

When Gensha is understood, you will realise that his spirit is not to be sought in words. You will also see that those who understand make themselves naturally distinguishable from the rest.

Later when a monk came to Ummon (Yün-men, died 949) and asked him about Gensha's sermon, Ummon was ready to demonstrate it in the following way as he thoroughly understood Gensha. Said Ummon to the monk, "You make bows." When the monk rose from making bows, Ummon poked him with a staff, and the monk drew back. Said Ummon, "You are not blind then?" Ummon now told him to approach, and the monk approached. Said Ummon "You are not deaf then?" Finally, he said, "Do you understand?" "No, master," being the reply, Ummon remarked, "You are not dumb then?" This made the monk grasp the point.

If this monk of Ummon's had any sort of understanding about Gensha, he would have kicked up the master's chair when he was told to make bows, and no more fussing would have been necessary. In the meantime let me ask you whether Ummon and Gensha both understood the problem in the same way, or not. I tell you that their understanding is

directed to one point. That the ancient masters come out among us and make all kinds of contrivance is because they wish to see somebody bite their hook and be caught up. They thus make bitter remarks in order to have us see into the great event of this life.

My own master Goso (Wu-tsu, died 1104) had this to say: "Here is one who can talk well but has no understanding; here is another who understands but is unable to talk about it. When these two present themselves before you, how will you distinguish the one from the other? If you cannot make this discrimination, you cannot expect to free people from their bondage and attachment. But when you can, I will see to it that, as soon as you enter my gate, I put on a pair of sandals and run through the inside of your body for several times even before you realise. In case, however, you fail to have an insight in this matter, what is the use of hunting around for an old bowl? Better be gone!"

Do you wish to know what is the ultimate meaning of these complications in regard to the blind, deaf, and dumb? Let us see what Seccho says about it.

Seccho's Remark in Verse

Blind, deaf, dumb! [—Even before any word is uttered.—

The three sense-organs are perfectly sound.—Already finished is one paragraph!]

Infinitely beyond the reach of imaginative contrivances!

[—Where do you wish to hunt for it?—Is there anything here which permits your calculations?—What relationship have they after all?]

Above the heavens and below the heavens! [—Perfectly free is the working of Truth!—Thou hast said!]

How ludicrous! How disheartening! [—What is it that is so ludicrous, so disheartening?—Partly bright and partly dark.]

Li-lou does not know how to discriminate the right colour.

[—Blind fellow!—A good craftsman leaves no trace.

—Blind to the very core!]

How can Shih-k'uang recognise the mysterious tune?
[—Deaf in his ears!—There is no way to appreciate the greatest merit.—Deaf to the very core!]

What life can compare with this?—Sitting alone quietly by the window, [—This is the way to go on.—Do not try to get your livelihood in a cave of ghosts.—Break up all at once this cask of coal tar!]

I observe the leaves fall and the flowers bloom as the seasons come and go. [—What reason do you think it is now?—Do not regard this as doing-nothing-ness.—Today, morning is followed by evening; tomorrow, morning is followed by evening.]

Seccho now remarked: "Do you understand, or not?"
[—"Repeated in the gatha."]

An iron bar without a hole! [—Coming up with your own confession!—Too bad that he was released too easily.—"Then he struck."]

Yengo's Comment on Seccho

"Blind, deaf, dumb!

Infinitely beyond the reach of imaginative contrivances!"

In this, Seccho has swept everything away for you—what you see together with what you do not see, what you hear together with what you do not hear, and what you talk about together with what you cannot talk about. All these are completely brushed off, and you attain the life of the blind, deaf, and dumb. Here all your imaginations, contrivances, and calculations are once for all put an end to, they are no more made use of, this is where lies the highest point of Zen, this is where we have true blindness, true deafness, and true dumbness, each in its artless and effectless aspect.

"Above the heavens and below the heavens!

How ludicrous! how disheartening!"

Here Seccho lifts up with one hand and with the other puts down. Tell me what he finds to be ludicrous, what he finds to be disheartening. It is ludicrous that this dumb person is not after all dumb, that this deaf one is not after all deaf;

it is disheartening that the one who is not at all blind is blind for all that, and that the one who is not at all deaf is deaf for all that.

"Li-lou does not know how to discriminate the right colour." When he is unable to discriminate between blue and yellow, red and white, he is certainly a blind man. He lived in the reign of the Emperor Huang. He is said to have been able to discern the point of a soft hair at a distance of one hundred steps. His eye-sight was extraordinary. When the Emperor Huang had a pleasure-trip to the River Chi'eh, he dropped his precious jewel in the water and made Li fetch it up. But he failed. The Emperor made Ch'ih-kou search for it, but he also failed to locate it. Later Hsiang-wang was ordered to get it, and he got it. Hence:

"When Hsiang-wang goes down, the precious gem shines most brilliantly;

But where Li-lou walks about, the waves rise even to the sky."

When we come up to these higher spheres, even the eyes of Li-lou are incapacitated to distinguish which is the right colour.

"How can Shih-kuang recognise the mysterious tune?" Shih-kuang was son of Ching-kuang of Chin in the province of Chiang in the Chou dynasty. His other name was Tzū-yeh. He could thoroughly distinguish the five sounds and the six notes, he could even hear the ants fight on the other side of a hill. When Chin and Ch'u were at war, Shih-kuang could tell, by merely quietly playing on the strings of his lute, that the engagement would surely be unfavourable for Ch'u. In spite of his extraordinary sensitiveness, Seccho (Hsüeh-t'ou) declares that he is unable to recognise the mysterious tune. After all, one who is not at all deaf is really deaf in his ears. The most exquisite note in the higher spheres is indeed beyond the ear of Shih-kuang. Says Seccho: "I am not going to be a Li-lou, nor to be a Shih-kuang, but

“What life can compare with this?—Sitting alone quietly
by the window,
I observe the leaves fall, the flowers bloom as the seasons
come and go.”

When one attains this stage of realisation, seeing is no-seeing, hearing is no-hearing, preaching is no-preaching. When hungry one eats, when tired one sleeps. Let the leaves fall, let the flowers bloom as they like. When the leaves fall, I know it is the autumn; when the flowers bloom, I know it is the spring. Each season has its own features.

Having swept everything clean before you, Seccho now opens a passageway, saying: “Do you understand, or not?” He has done all he could for you, he is exhausted, only able to turn about and present to you this iron-bar without a hole. It is a most significant expression. Look and see with your own eyes! If you hesitate, you miss the mark for ever.

Yengo [Yüan-wu, the author of this commentary note,] now raised his *hossu* and said, “Do you see?” He then struck his chair and said, “Do you hear?” Coming down from the chair, he said, “Was anything talked about?”

The above is a literal translation of the Case LXXXVIII of the *Pi-yen Chi* (碧巖集), which is one of the most important and at the same time the most popular Zen texts. The words in blackets in the “Illustrative Case” and in Seccho’s verse are those of Yengo. As to the nature and composition of the *Pi-yen Chi*, see my *Zen Essays*, Series II, p. 217 et seq.

D. T. S.

IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES

IX. KYŌDŌGOKOKUJI (TŌJI)

When visitors approach the city of Kyoto by train from Ōsaka or Kōbe the first prominent feature of the landscape is Tōji's five-storied Pagoda rising up 183 feet, the tallest in Japan.

Tōji is situated in the extreme southern part of the city. It belongs to the Shingon sect and has many subordinate temples. Crowds of people gather here on the 21st of each month to do honour to the founder of the sect, Kōbō Daishi.

Tōji dates from 796 A.D. when the Emperor Kwammu built two temples, one to the left and the other to the right of the Rashōmon, the south gate, with the idea of protecting the city. In 823 Emperor Saga gave the temple to Kōbō Daishi as the chief centre for the propagation of the Shingon teaching. Two years later Emperor Junna ordered the *Kōdō* built. Other prominent persons associated with the building or reconstruction or upkeep of the temple in ancient times were Mongaku Shōnin connected with the sad story of Kesa Gozen, Yoritomo, the first Minamoto Shogun, the Emperor Gouda, Emperor Godaigo, Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu and Tokugawa Iemitsu. Hideyoshi rebuilt the pagoda in memory of his mother. At the time of the restoration Tōji became the main temple of the Kogi Shingon sect.

In the beginning, Tōji was not a Shingon temple, so the buildings are arranged according to the ancient Nara style, in imitation of the T'ang period in China. It is the only temple now standing in Kyoto that was erected at the time of the founding of the city. Some of the buildings or parts of buildings are national treasures. The south gate called Nantaimon has beautiful carvings. The Rengemon (lotus gate) dates from the Kamakura period and its style is very fine. When Kōbō Daishi left Tōji for Kōyasan, he went out by this gate and it has never been opened since.

Both the Hōzo (Treasure Godown) and the Daishi Dō are national treasures. The former erected by Mongaku Shōnin in 1197 is built in what is called the *Azegurazukuri* style, some of the tiles on the roof having floral scrolls thus showing that they were used when Tōji was first built. The *Daishidō* is not only the hall where the statue of Kōbō Daishi is enshrined but also the place where he resided. This hall is an example of a typical dwelling house of the middle ages. The style of the *Kwanchi* is also a typical *Shoinzukuri*, showing the home of a samurai in mediaeval times.

There is a famous story connected with the Rajō Gate which formerly stood in the south.

Terrible ogres were in the habit of entering the city by the Rajō Gate and capturing young maidens whom they bore away to their caves among the mountains. Raikō, who belonged to the Minamoto family, was very desirous of putting an end to these ravages. One of his retainers, named Tsuna, volunteered to guard the gate. One stormy night he was unable to overcome a feeling of drowsiness. Leaning against one of the posts he was soon fast asleep, when one of the ogres, who had been sitting on the timbers overhead watching an opportunity, grabbed the sleeping warrior by the helmet and was about to bear him off through the air, when Tsuna suddenly drew his sword and cut off one of the ogre's arms. The monster, howling with pain, vanished from sight leaving behind him the severed arm which Tsuna took to his master. It is said that, if an ogre thus wounded can within a week recover the amputated limb, it will easily re-unite itself to the body. Tsuna, having been warned to take good care that nothing of this kind should happen, procured a heavy stone box which he took into his house. Having tightly locked the doors, he put the ogre's arm into the box, and replacing the lid sat upon it; resolving that for seven days and nights he would watch against the ogre's wiles. Late on the last evening he heard a feeble knock at

the door. In reply to his inquiry he was told that his aged aunt had come from her distant country home to congratulate him on his heroic deed. He at first refused to admit her, but when she pleaded that he would not be so cruel as to keep her out in the cold and darkness when in all her feebleness she had come so far to see him, he finally yielded. The old lady soon asked to see the ogre's arm. At his refusal she shed tears at his unwillingness to gratify her, until at last he consented to her taking one peep. No sooner was the lid lifted than all disguise was thrown aside and the ogre, who had assumed the old lady's form, seizing the arm vanished from sight.

This story has been made into a Nō play called *Tsuchigumo* where the demon is really a terrible spider which was later killed by the hero of the story, Watanabe-no-Tsuna.

There are three principal buildings in Tōji besides the *Daishi Dō*. These are the *Kondō* or Golden Hall, a double-roofed massive structure, a mingling of Indian and Chinese architecture, 114 by 62 feet, containing a great statue of Yakushi flanked by Nigwatsu, the Bodhisattva of the Sun and Gekko the Bodhisattva of the Moon. The Twelve Followers of Yakushi supposed to have been carved by Kōbō Daishi stand in this hall. In the *Jiki-Dō* or Kwannon Hall is a very large and majestic statue of Kwannon 18 feet high, a fine example of the Fujiwara period. Unfortunately it was badly damaged in the fire of 1932. It is the form of Senju Kwannon with her many arms, each one containing some symbolic object, reaching out to save those whom she pities. Temporarily, a smaller statue stands in her place.

In the *Kōdō* there are great statues of Dainichi the central Buddha of Shingon, surrounded by his manifestations of the Buddha, Amida, Shaka, Ashuku and Hōjō. There are a number of other striking sculptures here, among them the four deva kings attributed to Kōbō Daishi.

The five-storied pagoda is 32½ feet square at its base

and 174 feet in height, not including the bronze spire. It is one of the most graceful of Japan's pagodas.

In the *Kwanchō In* are many treasures, chief among which are the series of wooden statues called Godai Kokuzō. It is one of the oldest series of wooden statues to be seen in the Orient, showing the art styles of both the Southern and Northern schools of sculpture. They are supposed to date from 589-617 A.D. Each image is about two feet four inches in height and is seated upon the back of a bird or animal, a peacock, garuda bird, horse, elephant and lion. As Mr Fenollosa says "These retain all the quality and feeling of bronze, recalling the early Southern animal sculptures in clay and metal." As to the human figures he says, "Here we have the very type of a North Chinese Warrior."

They are five forms of the Bodhisattva Kokuzō (Akāṣagarbha) who is a Bodhisattva representing compassion and wisdom. He is generally represented seated upon a lotus, adorned with jewels. He holds in the right hand the holy gem, the Cintamani, or a lotus, and in the left hand, the sword of wisdom.

In the *Daishi Dō* is a sacred and beautiful statue seldom shown of Kōbō Daishi; it was carved by Koshō Hōgan at the command of the Emperor Shijō. Recently I was permitted to see it. Before the altar stands a very splendid candelabra containing many lights. The effect of these candles illuminating the rich altar setting and behind it sheltered by curtain and doors within a rich lacquer shrine sits the stately black statue of the Shingon saint.

Many emperors are associated with Tōji. The esoteric doctrines appealed to the court and we find the names of a number of emperors who helped Tōji from its establishments up to fairly modern times. When Kōbō Daishi, then called Kūkai, returned from China, he brought with him many religious objects given to him by his master Keikwa. Kōbō Daishi himself was a wonderful sculptor, painter and calligrapher and made copies of many famous Chinese works.

of art. In this way the art of the middle T'ang period was introduced into Japan.

In the early ninth century, Chinese influence was strong not only in religion and the fine arts but in general culture, for example, the writing was in the Chinese style, poems were read in the Chinese way, costumes were of the Chinese fashion, and houses and streets were built after Chinese copies. The city of Kyoto itself was laid out on the model of the T'ang period.

Among the treasures of Tōji are the paintings of the twelve Heavenly Kings among which Sūten, the water god and Fūten, the wind god are the most notable. The portraits of the seven Shingon patriarchs are all National Treasures and in the case of four outstanding for their spirituality and power, the others being much faded. That of Amoghavajra by the T'ang artist Li Chen is the best. Mr Garrett Chatfield Pier says of this picture:

"This portrait of the Indian missionary and Buddhist teacher, together with the other paintings of the series, is of great interest to students of Japanese art. The set has served as models to many a later Japanese artist. Li Chen has represented Amoghavajra as a rather coarse-featured man of the coolie type. There is little of the priest about him, other than his black *kesa*, bald head and clasped hands. The heavy lines of his face, his large nose and the blue-black line of his close-shaven beard, so truthfully indicated by the T'ang artist, but serve to impress one with his uncouthness, yet, like others in this series, his quiet air of introspection does much to offset this impression of unrefinement. A brilliant note of color is struck by the Coromandel-red (lacquer?) of the central part of the dais upon which he sits, the lower part being black (lacquer?) and his robe a deep full black of the richest quality."

There is a wonderful screen here which Mr Pier thinks an ancient copy of one actually brought from China and which Fenollosa attributes to Kanaoka's son Kanetada.

There are many other beautiful paintings at Tōji but it would take many pages to describe them. Mr Garrett Chatfield Pier in his instructive book "Temple Treasures of Japan" describes many of them. There are two very lovely Kwannons, one the *Jūichimen* (Eleven-faced) and the other the *Shō*. As Kwannon has many arms to help so she has eleven faces to look in all directions upon the suffering and unhappy. The twelve devas are among the treasures of Tōji. They are from the brush of Takuma Shōga and are exquisite. I quote again from Mr Pier:

"Tōji possesses numerous examples of this new style of art, notably in her famous set of twelve kakemono, now screen-panels, embellished with the figures of the twelve devas or Juniten. The most beautiful of the set are Surya and Chandra, the Sun and Moon goddesses. The latter is illustrated in Figure 131. Painted by Takuma Shōga in 1191, the series represents what may be called the style of the Sung-derived Takuma School at its best. This is evinced in the tender poses; in the calm beauty of the pure faces; in the charming arrangement of the robes—where intricate and detailed ornament is happily considered a non-essential—above all, in the deft and varied brushwork, as seen in Shōga's readiness and ability to depict the delicate features of her charming subjects, or the grandly sweeping curves of their costumes, now heavy, now light.

"The long slim forms are naturally modelled, and about them gauzy veils fly out from the semitransparent and tightly clinging folds or their softly shimmering robes. Chandra the Moon, perhaps the most charming of these *devaraja*, is thus daintily rendered. Upon her lovely face, a pure Hindoo profile, is seen an expression of the utmost tenderness and purity. Her softly rounded arms are outstretched before her, and in the hollow of her supple hands she supports the silver cup of a gleaming crescent-moon. Above its rim peeps a tiny rabbit, a white bunny, all velvet ears and fluffy, downy jacket.

"The Sun-goddess Surya, for freedom and grace of pose, closely rivals her sister *devara*. The brilliant but mellowed colors too, have been laid on with all the fluency and variety of brush-stroke that speaks so strongly of the Sung style, as affected by artists of the Takuma School, to which this series belongs."

I myself saw these paintings in a most unusual and auspicious setting, at a special, semi-secret service when in a darkened hall, lighted by candles, they hung as a background to the esoteric proceedings. The paintings enhanced the beauty of the service as the service brought out the interest of the paintings, for were not the devas spectators of the rituals which were taking place?

Tōji, like Kōyasan, breathes of Kōbō Daishi. Of the treasures, preserved here some are from his hand as well as others from eminent artists of the T'ang court. Kōbō Daishi was a man of genius and excelled in everything he undertook. He was so skilled a chirographist that he was admired by all the Chinese scholars of his time. He was a great sculptor and a great painter. In fact he was a man of the highest endowments, of remarkable skill and possessed of religious fervour and discernment. Moreover he was a philosopher, a scholar and writer of books and poems. His versatility was wonderful. Added to his gifts and accomplishments was a vivid personality which impressed everyone with whom he came in contact, whether emperor or plebeian, priest or layman, scholar or ignoramus.

No wonder that his memory is still fragrant in Japan and that at many places, the visitor has the sensation of walking in the great saint's footsteps. I know that when the other day I walked in Tōji, and paused for a moment in the shadow of the great pagoda or knelt before his statue in the *Daishi Dō*, I felt that I was contacting a great personality, one of the most arresting that Japan has given to the world. As at Kōyasan, so here in Tōji, these footsteps of Kōbō Daishi's are deep and firm. The debt of Japan's

culture to the efforts and achievements of Kōbō Daishi is great and can never be forgotten. And Tōji is one of the best places in which to remember him.

SEIREN (BLUE LOTUS)

EDITORIAL

Recently, it was said by a friend abroad that he had heard that a revival of Buddhism in China was more likely than a revival in Japan. To us here in Japan this seems very strange, for we feel that the revival in Buddhism in Japan has already come and has been with us for some time. Persons who say this are not well informed. Buddhism has revived in Japan and is growing more and more flourishing.

I also read in a European journal that a certain Japanese priest in Berlin had said that he was obliged to go to Germany in order to learn pure Buddhism as Buddhism was degenerated in Japan. I cannot understand what he could have been doing or where he could have been staying in Japan, to have made such a statement unless he was referring to strict Hinayana Buddhism.

Buddhism is not deteriorated in Japan. It is a living vital force, and, after its partial eclipse at the time of the Meiji restoration, has revived and become a vehicle of peace and power to thousands of its followers.

Let us consider some of the Buddhist activities in Japan.

First of all the temples. They have many activities perhaps one of the chief of which is consolation at the time of death. They conduct services for the dead and console the living. This, as with Christian denominations, is an important part of a priest's duties. There are the celebrations—the death days of famous priests and patriarchs of the sect and anniversaries of various kinds also make occasions for celebration. For example, as only one out of many, this year the 1100th anniversary of the death of Kōbō Daishi and the completion of the new Hall and Pagoda was celebrated at Koyasan from April 2 to May 21. Thousands of people attended the services at this celebration.

There are many Buddhist societies for Buddhist propagation and dissemination. There are women's associations, also the Y. M. B. A. and Y. W. B. A., Sunday Schools and philanthropic societies devoted to active charitable work. There are study classes and many lectures are given by eminent speakers. Preaching Halls are established. Summer schools are held and there are group meditation periods held for laymen. Pilgrimages to sacred places are frequent.

As for books and magazines they are issued in great quantities. There are a number of Buddhist colleges, and schools where young people receive Buddhist instruction. Does all this imply deterioration? Buddhism, as Prof. J. B. Pratt states, is "emphatically the religion of Japan." He also says, "Whatever may come about in the next fifty years, certain it is today Buddhism has a large, and, in some of the sects, an enthusiastic and devoted following."

Prof. Pratt also remarks that "the last fifteen years have been marked by a notable advance. In education, propaganda, worship, and service it has taken great strides and we are witnessing today only the first fruits of its new sowings." He further states that in his opinion the Buddhism of Japan is "a religion of great present strength and pretty fair promise."

Prof. Addison of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, has a number of interesting things to say about what he calls the *Revival* of Japanese Buddhism. He states that behind the activity of Buddhist education and publication lies a genuine intellectual revival. Buddhist leaders with a modern mental equipment are re-thinking and restating the doctrines of their religion. He also remarks "that partly as a result, partly as a cause of the Buddhist revival, there is widely observed, especially in the younger generation, an awakened idealism and a growing interest in religion. Far less enthusiasm is now manifested for the older type of materialism and scepticism represented by Herbert Spencer; far more general is the response to the stimulus of idealism in many forms—whether of the latest German philosophy, or of Christianity, or of the new Buddhism. Developing rapidly in such an atmosphere, the Buddhist revival, already accelerated, is likely to continue until far more radical changes have taken place than those we have here described."

There is no other place in the world where Buddhism can be, in its Mahayana form, so well studied in its theory or in its practice as in Japan. Indeed, I may go so far as to say that without a visit to Japan a certain spiritual grasp of Buddhism cannot be attained. But there are some who come and "seeing they see not" and do not understand. Generally these are persons who see but superficially, do not thoroughly investigate and study and come in contact with

different classes of Buddhists. But those who do investigate know that the Japanese revival has already taken place, that Japan can give the follower the best Mahayana Buddhist teaching and initiate him into Buddhist activities of which he can only dream in other countries. Come to Japan. Buddhist aspirants, and witness for yourselves the Buddhist revival here. Study it in its various ramifications and activities and then you can truly assert that in Japan, Buddhism exists, has revived from a temporary dull period and is now pushing on to a new and deep spirituality.

NOTES

The Association for the Study of Religion in Japan had its third annual meeting on the 5th and 6th of May at the Rissho Buddhist College of Tokyo. Many lectures on religion including Buddhism were given by eminent scholars.

As this is the two thousand and five hundredth anniversary of Buddha Śākyamuni's birth, (though the opinions of scholars differ on this point), various commemoration works are going on. The Japan Young Men's Buddhist Association is translating the Buddhist Bible edited by Rev. Muan Kizu into English. The Second Pan-Pacific Young Men's Buddhist Meeting will be held in July. Buddhists from various parts are expected to attend, including Reverend Tai-hsu and many other Chinese noted Buddhists.

Kōbō Daishi's one thousand and one hundredth anniversary is celebrated this year. In the Shingon Sect of which Kōbō Daishi is the founder, a fifty days' service was held from April 2 at Kōyasan which thousands of Shingon devotees attended.

Of recent important publications on Buddhism outstanding ones are Dr. H. Ui's *History of Indian Philosophy*; Dr. E. Kanakura's *Studies in the Vedānta Philosophy*; Dr. B. Shiiō's *Introduction to the Buddhist Scriptures*, the late T. Hashikawa's *History of Japanese Buddhism*; Mr. E. Tomomatsu's *Outlines of Buddhism for Modern People*.

Among well-known Buddhists who died of late, Dr. Kōyō Sakaino was an authority in the study of Chinese Buddhism. He was born in 1871 in a Christian family in Sendai. Through the influence of Enryo Inoue, Sensho Murakami and other noted priests, he became a Buddhist and participated in the "New Buddhism" movement. Afterwards he became the head of Tōyō College which he resigned in 1923. Of his many works, the most famous are *The Brief History of Chinese Buddhism*, *Lectures on the History of Chinese Buddhism*, etc.

The Rev. Raifu Gonda, the ex-abbot of the Buzan Branch of the Shingon Sect and the ex-head of Taisho College, passed away recently aged eighty-nine. He was a learned scholar in the Shingon doctrine and the first man who made the mysteries of it known to the public, by his *Commentary on Ryōbu Mandala*, *Outlines of Esoteric Buddhism*, and other works. He is said to have had such a progressive view that he wished to place Christ in the Mandala.

The Rev. Shinkyō Michishige, the abbot of the Jōdo Sect, and the Rev. Gempō Kitano, the abbot of the Sōtō Zen Sect, died also recently. And the Rev. Mitsuyu Ryūchi, abbot of Kongōbuji (Kōya), died at the age of ninety-two.

BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

YOGA PERSONAL HYGIENE, by Shri Yogendra, with a Preface by Dr. J. W. Fox. Yoga Institute, Bombay. 327 pp. Illustrated.

The purpose of the author of this book is to give a comprehensive presentation of the Yoga system of hygiene and prophylaxis in a scholarly and yet popular way. He writes on Yoga Personal Hygiene in order to give physical efficiency, to purify the body, to remove disease, to promote longevity and spiritual and moral elevation. He takes up in detail the Yoga method for the care of the teeth and mouth, the ear, nose, eye and stomach. He then goes on to describe the Yoga system of deep breathing, care of the sexual organs, the brain and the skin. The book contains a large amount of most interesting information and instruc-

tion. In one respect the Buddhist method of breathing disagrees not only with him but with many other teachers. In Zen Buddhism and other Buddhist schools as well as in non-Buddhist Japanese methods, the abdomen is *compressed* (drawn in,) during inhalation and expanded during exhalation. The great idea in Zen is to put the force both spiritual and physical in the *outgoing* breath, therefore the abdomen must be expanded and filled with power when the breath is exhaled.

The author lays great stress upon his methods for improving the digestive organs. Many of his exercises would prove difficult for persons who are not Indians accustomed from childhood to difficult postures. However they may doubtless be modified to suit the practiser. Many helpful suggestions for daily practice may be found in this interesting manual.

Publications of The Shrine of Wisdom, London:

A SYNTHESIS OF THE TEACHING OF SAINT PAUL

THE SIMPLE WAY OF LAO TSZE

A SYNTHESIS OF THE BHAGAVAD-GITA

THE GOLDEN VERSES OF THE PYTHAGOREANS

PLOTINUS ON THE BEAUTIFUL AND ON INTELLIGIBLE
BEAUTY

TWO DIALOGUES OF PLATO: THE FIRST ALCIBIADES AND
THE MENO

The publications of the Shrine of Wisdom are tastily bound short abstracts of famous books or of the teachings of spiritual leaders. The Buddhist will find in them much of interest and pleasure in finding parallels and contrasts with Buddhism. As we read in the Proemial of the Synthesis of the Teachings of St. Paul, "The purpose of this Manual is to consider the Christian and Hermetic Mysteries in the light of each other and whilst preserving and respecting the particular tenets of the teachings of Christianity, to present a Synthesis that will lend itself also to a universal application." Students of the Trikaya theory in Buddhism will find the Holy Trinity explanation of St. Paul's of interest. We may contrast the conception of God as Father to the Dharmakaya, God as Son to the Nirmanakaya and God as the Holy Spirit to the Sambhogakaya. His list of the Re-

demptive Virtues and Graces may be set against the Buddhist Paramitas. We find Patience, Diligence and Compassion in both.

When we come to Lao Tsze the Buddhist is on more familiar ground, for there is some affinity between Taoism and Buddhism specially Zen Buddhism in its doctrine Wu Wei, non-action. Many of the sentences in the chapter on Wu-wei in this treatise reminds one of the dictums of Zen masters, for example *Meditating the Beginnings*.

Practice Wu Wei,—that is, be active with the activity of the Inner Life.

Be helpful with the service of the Inner Life.

Be fragrant with the fragrance of the Inner Life.

Regard the great as the small.

Regard the many as the few.

Requite hatred with goodness.

Meditate on difficult things while they are easy.

Do great deeds till they appear to be small.

To serve the world in difficult tasks, we must begin with those that are easy. To serve the world in great affairs, we must begin with those that are small.

That is why the Master, to the very end, does not become great: thus he is perfect in his greatness.

But even as lightly made resolutions inspire little faith, so lack of seriousness in little things makes difficult that which is easy.

That is why the Master regards all things as great; thus, to him, nothing is difficult from the beginning to the end.

THE BHAGAVAD-GITA being an oriental book has also strong parallels with Buddhism in its teachings. Yet it has also strong contrasts for the Gita is Vedantic and there are certain ideas upon which the Vedantist and the Buddhist part company such as the idea of the Self, Brahma as the Lord of the gods and the doctrine of Maya is somewhat different from the Buddhist doctrine of non-reality.

It is when we consider the Five Paths that we find an interesting parallel for all the Five Paths as outlined in the Gita unite together in forming the one path of the Bodhi-sattva. These Five Paths are:

1. Dharma Mārga, as the Path of Duty.
2. Karma Mārga, as the Path of Action.
3. Bhakti Mārga, as the Path of Aspiration.

4. Jñāna Mārga, as the Path of Knowledge.

5. Rāja Mārga, as the Path of Perfection.

Duty would correspond to the Sila Paramita of the Bodhisattva, Action to the Virya Paramita, Aspiration to the Dana Paramita, Knowledge to the Prajna Paramita, Perfection to the Jnana Paramita.

In Japanese Buddhism various sects can be taken to represent these separate paths, for example, Bhakti Marga the Path of Devotion by the Pure Land Sects, Jodo and Shin, Jnana Marga, the Path of Knowledge by the Tendai and Shingon and Raja Marga by the Zen, all of them partaking of the Dharma and Karma Margas. An interesting study could be made fully taking up the contrasts and parallels which the Buddhist would find in the Bhagavad-Gita.

When we come to Plato, the Buddhist is on more unfamiliar ground. *The First Alcibiades* may be contrasted with the Zen idea of Enlightenment and the Innate idea of truth in the *Meno* with the Shingon conception of the Elements and union with the Dharmakaya.

THE GOLDEN VERSES OF THE PYTHAGOREANS may be taken as a handbook for the Arhat. Directions seem more like the Hinayana for the benefit of the Practiser rather than for the Bodhisattva who uses his knowledge and deeds for the benefit of others. But as a guide for self-discipline, they are noble and wise and may form a part of the Bodhisattva's Śīla practice.

Publications of The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India:

DOUBT THE LIBERATOR by Serge Brisy

ANCIENT IDEALS IN MODERN MASONRY by C. W. Leadbeater

OUR RELATION TO CHILDREN by C. W. Leadbeater

NOTES ON THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN by H. P. Blavatsky

THE OCCULT TEACHING OF THE CHRIST by Josephine Ransom

THE BOOK OF TAO.

These are booklets attractively bound in paper. The first one DOUBT, THE LIBERATOR, is based upon the teachings of Mr. Krishnanmti but applied personally. The second

one is the report of a lecture delivered to the Sydney Co-Masonic Lodge. The third one gives the author's ideas upon the relation between parents and children. The fourth consists of notes of H. P. Blavatsky, which formed the basis of discussion at the Blavatsky Lodge in October, 1889. THE OCCULT TEACHINGS OF THE CHRIST is from the point of view of The Secret Doctrine by H. P. Blavatsky. The most interesting of all is THE BOOK OF TAO with Notes by the Editor. These notes are very interesting and show a knowledge of and interest in Mahayana Buddhism.

We have recently received the following magazines in exchange: *Buddhism in England*, London; *The Maha-Bodhi*, Calcutta; *The Aryan Path*, Bombay; *Message of the East*, Boston; *Vedanta Darpana*, New York; *Vedanta Kesari*, India; *Shrine of Wisdom*, London; *Mythic Magazine*, India; *Theosophical Quarterly*, New York; *Bulletin of Oriental Studies*, London; *Bulletin of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, India; *Journal of Religion*, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.; *The Epoch*, Ilfracombe, England; *Le Lotus Bleu*, Paris; *The Liberal Catholic*, London; *The Theosophical Messenger*, Wheaton, Ill., U.S.A.; *The Kalpaka*, India; *Calamus*, Dublin, Ireland; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, India; *Il Progresso Religioso*, Rome; *Litterae Orientales*, Leipzig; *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*; *Journal Asiatique*, Paris; *Journal of Urusvati*, Himalayan Research Institute, Urusvati, Punjab; *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik Veröffentlichungen des Institutes für Völkerkunde an der Universität Wien*, Vienna. *Yoga*, edited by Shri Yogendra Yoga Institute Bombay, India.

Buddhist Readings, compiled by Beatrice Lane Suzuki, associate editor of this magazine, has just been published by the Hirano Publishing House, of Kyoto. Although designed primarily for Japanese college students, it is the belief of the compiler that the book may be read with profit by general readers interested in Buddhism. The selections are from Mahayana literature, and taken for the most part from books and magazines either out of print or difficult to obtain. The book costs ¥1.30 plus postage and may be ordered from The Eastern Buddhist Society.

The Editors of the *Eastern Buddhist* are happy to be able to announce the publication of the first two hundred and forty pages, about $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, of the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sutra*, which form the first two parts of the text. The whole text may comprise more than 600 pages. It is printed in the Devanagari type, clear and quite readable. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* is also sometimes known as the *Avatamsaka*. (Cf. Beatrice L. Suzuki's article on the *Avatamsaka Sutra* appearing in the present number of the *Eastern Buddhist*.) It represents one of the highest peaks of development in the history of Buddhism. Sudhana is the name of the principal character who goes around from one teacher to another in his quest of the ultimate reality. There are more than fifty such teachers interviewed by the young seeker of truth, among whom we find several women and men of the world. The Bodhisattvas concerned with the spiritual welfare of the young pilgrim are Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya, all of whom are the outstanding figures in the Mahayana. Sudhana's visit to Maitreya's Sacred Tower is one of the most inspiring and most graphically depicted scenes in the spiritual career of a young Buddhist soul. *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Series III, by D. T. Suzuki, gives further information regarding the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. Those who wish to know more about its publication may apply to the Editorial Office of the present magazine.

The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk by D. T. Suzuki will appear during this summer. It describes the doings of the Zen monk in the training station known as Semmon Dōjō. The book is fully illustrated by Reverend Zenchu Sato, of Tokeiji, Kamakura, who is intimately acquainted with the life of the monk and at the same time able to express his knowledge with the painter's brush. A life of simplicity, poverty, humility, service, and prayer sums up the ideals of monkhood. It is in a way the protest of the religious spirit against the trends of modern life. The book contains over forty collotype illustrations, about $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, and circa 120 pp., costing perhaps ¥5.00 with postage extra.

ESSAYS IN ZEN BUDDHISM

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VI. THE PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION OF THE PRAJNA-PARAMITA—
VII. BUDDHIST, ESPECIALLY ZEN, CONTRIBUTIONS TO JAPANESE
CULTURE—VIII. THE ZEN LIFE IN PICTURES.

The third series containing eight essays treats principally of Zen's relations to the teachings of the *Gandavyuha-sutra* and of the *Prajnaparamita-sutra*. These are the two fundamental canonical text-books of Mahayana Buddhism, which have contributed to the building up of the spiritual culture of the East. Without the knowledge of these scriptures as well as that of Zen, the religious life of Oriental peoples would be incomprehensible. If there is really anything in the Eastern way of thinking and feeling which differentiates itself from that of the West, this will be emphatically traceable in these writings.

The doctrine of Emptiness (*sunyata*) is fully expounded in the Essay VI. It is one of the points in the Mahayana which are most liable to be misinterpreted by outsiders. But when it is not properly understood, the whole fabric of Eastern thought will be torn to pieces. The author has spared no pains within his power to make it as readily intelligible to Western readers as he conceives them. One way leading to an adequate knowledge of the *Prajnaparamita* is to study it side by side with *Gandavyuha*; for the latter acquires its full significance in conjunction with the former, and *vice versa*.

The author further in one of the essays touches in a general way on Zen's influence over Japanese cultural life, which presents many phases unintelligible without properly fathoming Zen.

The illustrations reproduced from the old masters will no doubt help the reader to grasp the Zen life in its various aspects. The one thing the author has particularly emphasised here is that Zen is always found intimately connected with practical life, indeed that outside facts of our daily "prosaic" life there is no Zen life whatever.

These Zen studies will be completed in two more volumes. The one will treat of Zen bibliography, giving translations of some of the important writings of the ancient masters; while the other will give a history of Zen in China from its earliest exponents down to the period of Hui-neng and his disciples. Whatever development Zen achieved later is more or less the filling-up of details and minor points. Zen in its essence and from the point of view of its unique significance is best appreciated at the time when it first attained its full maturity in the T'ang.

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THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

IMPRESSIONS OF CHINESE BUDDHISM

PREFATORY

In the following pages the author attempts to give an account of his impressions of Buddhism in China, where he spent several weeks of the early summer last year (1934). These impressions, being of a more or less superficial traveller's whose knowledge of things Chinese is not at all thorough, especially in connection with the present state of things in China, must be far from being accurate and complete. A traveller's description of things and events he happens to observe in a strange land is always inevitably coloured with his subjectivism and limited by his amount of knowledge, or ignorance. China and her Buddhism are well known to all the Japanese Buddhists as far as their historical book-knowledge is concerned. But this kind of book-knowledge and the present actualities are two altogether different matters—indeed very frequently the former interferes with an adequate survey of the latter. With this thought in mind, the reader is asked to follow the observations of the writer whose pilgrimage in China this time covered only a very small portion of her extensive territory.

Incidentally, the facts may be mentioned that the writer was somewhat concerned in the beginning of his trip that an antagonistic attitude, though perhaps not actively, might be taken by the Chinese people toward him because of the political troubles between the two nations and that for this reason he might not see so many friends as he wished. But this was to a great extent unwarranted, for many fine opportunities were afforded to him while travelling through the neighbouring country. For this he tenders hearty thanks to all his friends Buddhist and otherwise.

The first question all the Japanese Buddhists are apt to ask of a recent traveller in China is this: "How does Buddhism fare in China these days?" This is quite a natural one, seeing that there are many things common to Japanese and Chinese Buddhism. In fact, the decline of Buddhist thought and practice in the one country is sure

to affect the other. If the cultural unity of Far-eastern civilisation along the line marked by Buddhism is to be firmly maintained in order to make it stand against the modern spirit of scientific and economic materialism, the Buddhists of the two great nations of the Far East are to be solidly aligned.

What was most disastrous to Chinese Buddhism in recent years was the truculent and most barbarous conduct of the T'ai-p'ing rebellion, which "for fifteen years (1850-65) devastated sixteen provinces, destroyed six hundred cities," and, according to a historian, cost the lives of at least twenty million men and women. One Christian missionary adds that "the waters of the Yang-tze carried seaward the ruins of thousands of temples and fragments of broken idols." From this one can imagine what devastation the "long-haired Christians" wrought out in these ancient districts of Wu and Yüeh where Buddhism had once been in a most flourishing condition, i.e., in the days of their Buddhist kings. The havoc is still remembered by the Buddhists, even after the lapse of over a half century, and still observable in the ruined pagodas and scattered tiles and bricks which we came across in our trip. There is no doubt that it will take many a year yet for Chinese Buddhism to recover fully from such disheartening consequences of the disaster. Especially when this is considered in connection with the modern trends of thought and culture which are somewhat against religious feeling generally, the Chinese Buddhists, I am sure, will have to put forward all the psychic energies in their possession to resuscitate the spiritual activities of the olden time. To do this, it goes without saying that an intellectual and affectional understanding and co-operation between the two great oriental nations, China and Japan, are imperative.

My observations this time will be limited to these subjects: 1. Putai Ho-shan who is regarded by the Chinese Buddhists as incarnation of Maitreya; 2. Kwannon Bosatsu (or Kuan-yin Pusa in Chinese) and its relationship to Amida; and 3. The Nembutsu (*nien-fo*) in relation to Zen.

I. PU-TAI¹

What most strikes the Japanese visitors to the historical

¹ Or Pu-tei, 布袋.

Buddhist monasteries in southern China is that all their buildings are symmetrically arranged and enormously large. Compared with Japanese architecture, all the Chinese works are to be measured with a scale of another denomination. Look at the Great Wall, for instance: such a conception would never have entered into the Japanese head, much less its execution. For the Chinese architects, however, it was a natural thing to construct it—and indeed apart from its strategic effectiveness; and for the same reason it was natural for the Chinese mind to design those gigantic Halls in which Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, gods and Arhats, are enshrined such as we see at the T'ien-Tung, the Ling-yin, the Pu-tsai, etc. To the Japanese who are used to their small, dainty houses, these enormous structures are really highly imposing. It is true that Japan too is not without great specimens of her stately architecture such as are exemplified by the Hongwanji halls in Kyoto; but is it due to their sweeping roofs spreading out too low that they somehow do not impress with a sense of grand elevation? A quiet solidity is there, a deep meditative mood is felt; and this is perhaps where Japanese Buddhism stands strongest. But they fail to create a sunny cheering atmosphere which is partially felt in China. Are her people characteristically happily disposed? Is their outlook of life more optimistic?

As the buildings are large and high, so are the figures enshrined. They are generally three or four times as large as life-size. They are gilded with gold or otherwise richly coloured, their expressions are realistic and not at all idealistic; while the gods in fantastic and theatrical postures are threatening enough to drive evil spirits away from the monastery. These latter figures are not so familiar to the Japanese as the first ones. What corresponds to them in Japan will be a pair of the Vajra gods guarding the entrance gate to the Buddhist temple.

One of the figures that greet us first as we enter the Hall of the Guardian Gods, which stands in front of all

other buildings, is Maitreya in one of his incarnated forms as Pu-tai. This figure presents an interesting aspect of Chinese Buddhism in various ways to the foreign visitor. In the first place, he is not like the other Buddhist figures we encounter in the Hall. The four guardian gods are fantastic, the arhats are saintly, but Pu-tai has ordinary human features familiar to us all. He assumes an easy posture with a protruding stomach, leans against a huge bag, broadly smiling and generally impressing us as the owner of a benevolent disposition and geniality of character. How did this secular figure come to occupy this significant position in the Hall of the Gods? His presence here does not seem to be in keeping with the entire environment. He is too near us to be enshrined with the warrior-gods and other super-worldly spirits. What has the "Laughing Buddha" to do with the protection of Buddhism? When did the legend start that he is an incarnation of Maitreya who is considered the "Buddha to come" when the world enters into another cycle? The following is what we know about his life on earth.

The record of his life appears first in the *Sung Biographies of Eminent Buddhist Priests* (compiled ni 982-998), and then in the *Transmission of the Lamp* (completed in 1064).¹ The following translation is from the *Transmission*:

¹ *Sung kao-sêng chuan*, fas. XXI; and *Chuan-têng-lu*, fas. XXVII. There is another story of Pu-tai Ho-shang much fuller in contents because of its later compilation. It appears in the supplementary section (Case XIX, fas. 5) of the Kyoto Manji edition of the Chinese Tripitaka. The date of its compilation is not exactly known but must be later than 1282 A.D., of Yüan. The author is Tan-ê (曇噩), former abbot of Kuo-ch'ing monastery at T'ien-tai. It evidently went through several editions. The Ming edition by Kuang-jou (廣如) contains still more additional material in the form of an "epilogue". From this we can readily gather that the cult of Pu-tai has been steadily gaining its popularity in China. One may ask why Han-shan and Shih-tê failed to appeal so strongly to the masses as Pu-tai, although the first two have succeeded in capturing the imagination of the Zen artists. One reason at least is that Pu-tai, as I have explained in the text, has more elements in his traditional personality embodying the social ideals of the Chinese people.

"It is not known to what family Pu-tai the priest, of Fêng-hua Hsien, Ming-chou, belonged. He called himself Ch'i-tz'ü.¹ His form was short and fat, he had wrinkles between the eye-brows, and his stomach was protruding. He talked irregularly, and slept wherever it pleased him. He used to carry a cloth-bag over his stick, in which he kept everything that belonged to him. When he entered shops or markets or villages, anything he saw he begged for; whether it was salted meat or fish, he put it into his mouth as soon as it was handed to him, while a small portion of it was thrown into the bag. He was known to the people by the name of Chang-t'ing-tzū and Pu-tai Shih.²

"Once he laid himself in the snow while snowing, but it did not at all wet him. This was thought by people to be very unusual. Sometimes he would ask of people to give him their goods, which he sold. He told them of their fortune good or bad; when the time came it never failed so to happen. When it was about to rain, he put on a pair of wet straw-sandals and quickly walked the streets. When it was to be dry, he wore high clogs and slept on the bridge with his knees raised. The people inhabiting the neighbourhood thereby knew what to expect of weather.

"A monk once walked ahead of the master, and the master touched his back. The monk looked back. Said the master, 'Be pleased to give me a cent.' 'If you could say a word, I would give you a cent.' Whereupon the master set the bag down and stood with his hands folded [over his chest].

"Pai-lu the priest asked, 'What is your cloth-bag for?' The master without delay set the bag down. The priest asked again, 'What is the meaning of setting down the bag?' The master put it over his shoulder and went away.

¹ It is difficult to know what this exactly means. *Ch'i* is "to agree," "to be in accord with;" *tz'ü* is "this." Does Pu-tai wish to mean by this to signify that his life is in agreement with "this," that is, "suchness"?

² "Long-beach-one," and "Cloth-bag-master."

"Pao-fu the priest asked, 'What is the basic teaching of Buddhism?' The master set the bag down and folded his hands across his chest. Said Pao-fu, 'Is that all? or anything further on?' The master put the bag over his shoulder and went away.

"The master was standing in the street when a monk asked him, 'What are you doing here, sir?' The master said, 'I am waiting for him.' 'He's come, he's come!' Said the master, 'You are not the man.' 'Who is the man then?' The master said, 'Give me a cent.'

"He had a song:

" 'Only this mind, mind, mind, which is the Buddha;
It is the most spiritual thing in the world [which fills]
the ten quarters;
It functions in a mysterious and winning way, up
and down, right and left;
Nothing compares to the verity of the mind.

" 'How lively! how free! there is nothing it does not
achieve;
How leisurely is the monk who has attained the limit!
When you see the Way, true and great, extending
itself before your eyes,
You notice not an iota of thing [disturbing the mind]
—how very strange!

" 'There are no such multiplicities designated as the ten
thousand things, nor is there a discriminating
mind;
What is the use then of troubling yourself with the
study of the sutras?
It is in the nature of the king-mind that it transcends
mere erudition;
The wise only are able to elucidate the stage of non-
learning.

" 'It is not saintly, not vulgar—neither has anything to
do with it;
It does not ask for discrimination; lonely is the spirit
of one who knows;
The mind-gem is priceless, perfect by nature and
immaculate;

The ignorant see things differently, and falsely call them a nothing.

“‘It is people who propound the Way, and the Way [in itself] is perfectly clear;
Beyond measure is its purity, its altitude, when you gain the Way;
Carrying the staff, it is like going up your native country's road;
Cease your worrying, for wherever you go you hear the voice.’

“‘He had another gāthā:

“‘One bowl is filled with rice from one thousand houses;
A solitary traveller wanders about ten thousand miles;
With kindly eyes he surveys, but meets few people;
Enveloped in white clouds, he knows not where the path is.’

“‘In the third month of the second year (916 A.D.), *ping-tz'ü*, of the Ting-ming era, of Liang, when the master was about to pass away, he sat quietly on the flat rock at the eastern porch of Yüeh-lin Ssü, and uttered the following gāthā:

“‘Maitreya, true Maitreya,
Dividing his body into hundreds of thousands of kotis,
Shows himself from time to time to people of his time,
But people of his time know him not.’

“‘When the gāthā was finished he passed away in tranquility.

“‘Later on, there were people in other districts who saw the master carrying his cloth-bag on his shoulders. Thereupon the four classes of people vied with one another in sketching his likeness. At present his whole body is still to be seen in the shrine east of the Main Hall of Yüeh-lin Ssü.”¹

¹ Miss Helen B. Chapin has her translation of Pu-tei in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 53. No. 1, pp. 47-52. Mine is independent of hers.

As we can see from this short biographical sketch of Pu-tai Hò-shang, he was an actually living person about a thousand years ago, and after his death his figure became one of the popular subjects of painting for Chinese artists. Especially with the Zen artists he was a favourite character as is illustrated by Liang-kai's "Dancing Pu-tai".² His life was full of Zen colouring as it were, and reminds us of those of Han-shan and Shih-tê, both of whom are also the most favourite models with Zen people. But as we find him enshrined in modern Chinese monasteries, Pu-tai plays quite a different rôle in the psychology of the Buddhists. What attraction he had to the genuine Zen followers of ancient days lay in his detached, unworldly, and "lunatic" attitude towards the world. With the Chinese generally, however, this Zen side is now forgotten. For he is here no more as ugly as he might be, and no more looks unconcerned with life. On the contrary, he is smiling, appears happy in the worldly sense of the word, his stoutness betokens his satisfaction with things earthly rather than unearthly. Contrast Liang-kai's "Dancing Pu-tai" with the rock-cut figure at Ling-yin Monastery. The latter is of course far from being sensuous in its specific sense, still he is not so transcendental if I may say so. As to most Pu-tai figures we come across in the monasteries nowadays, they appear gross, betraying a materialistic interpretation of the original character.

Now the question is, how did this mundane figure, so to speak, come to take its place as an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Maitreya among the Buddhist figures here? The Buddhas are serene, dignified, and supramundane, while the guardian gods or the protecting gods are forceful and threatening, thoroughly indicative of their mission. They are all in harmony with the purpose of the building. But Pu-tai with his easy posture, leaning against a cloth-bag of enormous size, broadly smiling, and with a stomach swelling like a gourd—he is by no means an appropriate figure here,

² *Zen Essays*, Series III, p. 348.

especially to take up the most significant place in front of all the other figures. Why is he the first one to greet the visitor to the Buddhist temple or monastery in China. In what relation does he stand to the signification of Chinese Buddhism? That he is a favourite character with the Zen artist is easily understood from the description in the *Chuan Têng Lu*. But how did he come to play this new rôle as a good jolly old fellow, apparently worldly and human?

As I take it, the presence of Pu-tai in this capacity in the Chinese monastery is accidental from a strictly Buddhist point of view. He has been grafted into the system of Buddhist iconography from the original Chinese stock of old popular beliefs and superstitions. Every nation or race has all kinds of beliefs which have grown out of their primitive psychology and experience. These beliefs often called superstitions are not as a rule organised, until a highly developed religion takes them up to its own system by giving them a conceptual interpretation. The cult of Pu-tai is one of these primitive beliefs.

As these aboriginal beliefs lie unorganised deeply in the unconscious of the people, their expressions are spontaneous, that is, beyond intellectual control. But they are always ready to get attached to a system of beliefs already more or less philosophically prepared, because the human mind has the innate tendency to see all its contents interpreted. All the desires and aspirations, instincts and inclinations, that enter into the composition of the psyche, are to be brought to light. Pu-tai did not in the beginning have anything to do with the primitive unconscious beliefs of the Chinese people; he only came to be used by them later on as a symbol expressive of one of their strongest aspirations. That is to say, the Chinese people see in Pu-tai one of their most primitive and therefore most deeply-rooted desires reflected. What do they then read in Pu-tai?

There are two distinct currents of thought and feeling in China: the one is represented by Lao-tzu and his follow-

ing, and the other by Confucius and his school. The Chinese temperament on the whole turns more decidedly towards Confucianism than towards Laotzuanism. Kung (for Confucius and his school) is more realistic and materialistic, Lao is more idealistic and world-flying or world-denying; Kung's ideals are more in the assertion and discipline of life with all its impulses, while Lao aspires more to stand away from life-activities thereby to preserve life in its purity or, as it were, abstracted from all its complications. The thought and feeling behind the "Dancing Pu-tai" is more Laotzuan, whereas Pu-tai as the "Laughing Buddha" approaches more to Confucian modes of feeling.

To speak more concretely, in "the Laughing Buddha" as he is enshrined in the Hall of the Guardian Gods (*t'ien-wang-tien*) the Chinese see such life-ideals of theirs incarnated as the desire for material possessions (*lu*), a life of blessedness (*fu*), longevity (*shou*), large-heartedness (*tai-tu*), sympathy (*shu*), etc. The big bag containing every imaginable article that Pu-tai fancied in his wandering life, represents wealth amassed. His broad smile and approachability are virtues very much admired by the eastern people and symbolic of sympathy, benevolence, generosity, unselfishness, etc. His protruding stomach takes in what is bad as well as what is good, nothing is thrown out; once in, things find their proper places; as a Chinese passage reads, which I found somewhere in my recent trip hanging on one of the entrance posts, his huge stomach has room enough for things which are ordinarily rejected as impossible in other people's life. "He swallows up what is clear and also what is murky"—this undifferentiated state of affairs, this vague indeterminateness is characteristic of the mystic type of mind, and the East is endowed with a great deal of it.

Pu-tai's attitude of swallowing down everything, good or bad, lovable or unlovable, is expressed in the following *gāthā*, which is found in Tan-ê's edition of the *Life of Pu-tai Ho-shang*:

"Right and wrong, love and hatred—how full of
 them is the world!
 Weigh the matter carefully and see how you are to
 behave here:
 Increase your abdominal capacity¹ so that you can
 always practise humility;
 Release the rays of a cheerful sun so as to melt off
 [the chilly hardness of the human heart].
 When you see friends treat them as friends;
 Even when enemies are encountered let your as-
 sociation be harmonious.
 What is essential is to keep your mind free from
 obstructions,
 For then you will naturally attain the realisation
 of the six Pāramitās."²

Lastly, the easy reclining posture assumed by Pu-tai
 differs very much from those we see generally in the Bud-
 dhist figures. It is indicative of spiritual contentedness in
 which every muscle and every nerve is completely relaxed.
 Satisfaction with the world at large is best expressed by
 this reclining reposeful attitude of Pu-tai. Every trace of
 stiffness and resistance has vanished; the line is drawn
 gracefully and undulatingly towards the earth showing that
 it perfectly knows where its ultimate destination is. This
 line of self-contentment and absolute restfulness is also shown
 in the portrait of Shōichi Kokushi.² When the line lies
 horizontally on the ground, it symbolises Nirvana. As long
 as there is life, and when this life goes well with its entire
 surroundings, it is best represented slantingly as in the
 figure of Pu-tai.

Taking all in all, the Pu-tai in the Chinese Buddhist
 monastery embodies the Chinese aspirations, worldly and
 moral, harmoniously blended with a sense of religious con-

¹ That is, keep your mind enlarged to its fullest capacity so as
 to absorb all the petty emotional differences in the world, enabling
 you to practise patience and forbearance. In Japan as well as in
 China the abdomen is generally associated with large-heartedness.

² *Zen Essays*, III, Plate IV.

tentment offered by Buddhism. And this is the reason I think why his statue is discoverable with the background at first sight incongruous with the idea suggested by him. Inasmuch as Buddhism has firmly struck its root in the religious consciousness of the Chinese people, it must absorb into itself all the popular beliefs essential to the welfare of the people. By doing this, Buddhism ceases to be a foreign importation; it is now embraced by the Chinese as one of the cultural works created by themselves.

In Japan Pu-tai has lost all his functions except that of giving bliss to his followers. He is known as Hotei which is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese characters "cloth-bag," and is not at all connected with Buddhism, for he is one of the seven gods of bliss. His form is retained, showing that when he was introduced to Japan, very likely by some of the Zen monks who visited China during the Sung, Pu-tai had not yet been made to perform the part as he has at present in the Chinese monastery. It is only at the Ōbaku monastery in Uji that he is enshrined as an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Maitreya as in China; for this was established by Yin-gen, of China, in exact imitation of his native monastery.

Pu-tai at the Ling-yin Ssū, of Hang-chou, is attended by Arhats, proving his original character as Maitreya. But popularly, these saintly attendants are transformed and become children¹ playing about Pu-tai who would give them things to play with. His association with children is significant in China, where a large family is regarded as one of the worldly blessings her people most covet. China is one of the countries where a man can divorce legitimately his wife who gives no birth to children. To continue the family line unbroken so that the ancestors would not be lacking in their worshippers, is the essence of filial piety,

¹ In Tan-ê's edition, we have this insertion: "There were ten children respectfully following him, although nobody knew where these children came from."

and filial piety is the highest virtue in China her social life demands of every one of her children. When a Chinese gentleman finds himself surrounded with material possessions, worldly honours, and especially with a large family consisting of his own children and grandchildren and if possible great grandchildren, he is blessed with the highest happiness he can enjoy while alive.¹ Added to this, let him be endowed with a broad, genial, ever-expanding heart which like the spring sun good-naturedly smiles on all vegetation vying with one another in the assertion of its vitality, and he is a morally ideally superior man. Is not Pu-tai a kind of expression of such idealism as it is? Here we observe what concession Buddhism has made to one of the deepest primitive aspirations of the Chinese soul.

II. THE CULT OF KWANNON

In the Japanese Zen monasteries there is just one central figure occupying the altar in any kind of hall. When there are other figures, they assume positions of decidedly secondary importance. But in China the Hall of the Guardian Gods enshrines, besides the central figure of Pu-tai, another figure at his back, facing the opposite side of the front entrance, that is, facing what may be called the back entrance. This Buddhist figure at the back entrance may be said to be subordinate in importance to the front one. But as long as they occupy the central altar they are to be regarded as in a way complementing each other, which

¹ From the Tan-ê edition: When Pu-tai was about to pass away, his friend surnamed Mahā because of his daily reciting the Mahā-prajñāpāramitā, was asked if he would like to be rich and honoured. Mahā said, "There is no permanency in being rich and honoured. I would rather wish for a long continued line of my descendants." The master then handed him a cloth-bag within which innumerable small bags were found together with a box and a string. He said, "This is then my parting present to you which concerns your posterity." Mahā failed to understand the idea, but after several days the master appeared again and said, "Do you understand my idea?" When Mahā expressed his inability to understand it, Pu-tai said, "I only want to see your descendants as symbolised by them."

means that what is wanting in the one is supplanted by the other, in this sense, they are equally significant in the general design of the Chinese monastery.

The other central figure turning its back towards Pu-tai and facing the rear entrance is sometimes Wei-t'o-t'ien¹ who is the protecting god of Buddhism, and sometimes Kwannon (*kwan-yin* in Chinese) in the rock-cave of Potalaka. Wei-t'o-t'ien is the leader of the celestial generals who vowed allegiance to Buddhism, and often has his separate place somewhere in a Buddhist monastery as protector of the sacred grounds. He is also looked up to as a god who sees to it that the monks do not suffer from a shortage of food supply in the monastery. If this is the case, with Pu-tai in front and with Wei-t'o-t'ien at the rear, all the Chinese Buddhist halls are comfortably looked after. Our concern here, however, is with the presence of Kwannon at the back of Pu-tai. Instead of Kwannon's occupying by himself the whole of the centre of the Hall, how has he come to share the honour with Pu-tai? Of course, there are many halls in the Chinese monasteries which are exclusively devoted to Kwannon. But in this case, if I remember right, Kwannon is a *bona-fide* male figure in dignity and general features. The Kwannon facing the rear entrance of the Guardian Gods' Hall is distinctly feminine in the attitude of giving her ready help to her devotees.

Avalokiteśvara² the Bodhisattva (considered to be the original pattern of Kwannon) has come to become in China

¹ When it is written 韋駄天, the original points to "Vedadeva." But according to the Sanskrit scholars of Japan and China 韋 is the ancient scribe's mistake for 建, and 韋駄 properly stands for "Skandha." Skandhadeva is one of the thirty-two guardian gods, especially of the monastery buildings and the Saṃgha brotherhood.

² According to some Japanese authorities, the original Sanskrit form of Kwannon must have been Avalokita-svara, "Viewed-sound," that is, the owner of sounds contemplated (viewed) by all beings. The idea of regarding Kwannon as Iśvara is considered to be a later development when the cult of Kwannon, as is proved by history, grew up to be increasingly popular not only in India but in central Asia.

quite a different type of personality, though as far as his functions as Mercy incarnated are concerned, they remain the same even after he became Kwannon, because they are just as described in the sutra bearing his name and forming a chapter in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*. Was it due to the notion most of us have that Mercy is more of the feminine quality than of the masculine, and, therefore, that Kwannon may more appropriately be represented as such, that is, as Goddess of Mercy than anything else? And thus does he appear in the history of Chinese Buddhism more in the feminine form than in any other forms, though he is told to take any form that he thinks fit for the occasion in order to lead people to a state of emancipation? He has as we all know a far gentler expression than an ordinary male god; in his pictures and statues as enshrined in a rock-cave, and, indeed, in his so-called thirty-three forms of incarnation, his character appeals to us more in its feminine quality than otherwise. In fact, all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, in regard to their sex if this is to be ascribed to them, are neither male nor female, they are neutral; that is to say, they combine the best qualities we find in femininity and masculinity and raise them to a height infinitely greater than that of their original owners. But the Buddha in meditation, or Amitabha in the preaching posture, or the Bodhisattva on an elephant has decidedly the male characteristics; whereas Kwannon as he is popularly depicted is a goddess and not a god. Frequently he is avowedly feminine. So we can say that Kwannon has two personalities in the Buddhism of China and also of Japan: as Kwannon the female and as Avalokiteśvara the male, or as Kwannon in the popular mind and as Kwannon doctrinally conceived, in which latter case Kwannon is Avalokiteśvara the Bodhisattva. The Kwannon we see enshrined in the rock-cave of Potalaka¹ is the Bodhisattva in his capacity somewhat reminding one of "eternally feminine."

¹ Potalaka, according to the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, is situated near the

Now let us ask why we find this Potalaka Kwannon figure complementing Pu-tai Ho-shang. The first thing we must acknowledge here is that Kwannon is now a creation of Chinese religious consciousness just as much as Pu-tai. The original model is Avalokiteśvara and the conception is no doubt based on the sutra bearing his name.¹ Whatever traditional qualities which were ascribed to the original character as an Indian god belonging to Buddhism were dropped except those of Mercy. Kwannon to the Chinese Buddhists is the Goddess of Mercy who can take any form to carry out her design effectively. Pu-tai embodies the inmost aspirations moving in the heart of an individual Chinese as social unit, while Kwannon appeals to the religious feelings of the Chinese as one of mortal beings suffering vicissitudes of the mundane existence. Pu-tai is more of moral significance, and Kwannon points more to spiritual struggles. The religious mind fails to be satisfied with Pu-tai; it wants something more penetratingly sinking down into the very basis of the human soul. Moral character, however perfect and deep, lacks a certain spiritual quality, and Kwannon must come to supply this deficiency.

Why does not Amitābha fill this office—the office of giving a devotional colouring to one's moral character? Does not Amitābha give enough satisfaction to the religious cravings of the Chinese mind? Why Kwannon? This too to a certain extent can be said of Japanese Kwannon.

I must dwell a little on the difference between Kwannon

sea-shore in the south-western part of India. There are many island-mountains in the sea, which are made of all kinds of precious stones, and this is where the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara has his abode. In China the Chou-shan archipelago near Ningpo is regarded as being inhabited by Kwannon.

¹ Properly it forms one of the chapters in the important Mahayana sutra known as *The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* ("the good law of the lotus"). But it is usually extracted from the mother text and goes under the name of the *Kwannon-gyō* (*Kuan-yin Ching*). The influence morally and religiously exercised by this sutra quite independent of *The Lotus* has been remarkable throughout the East.

(Kuan-yin) and Amitābha or Amida (Omito). What Kwannon does for all beings is told in detail in the *Kwannon Sutra* (*Kuan-yin Ching*), while what and where Amida is, is recounted in the *Amida Sutra* and also in the *Sukhāvativyūha Sūtra* and in the *Meditation Sutra*. Kwannon is one of the attendant-Bodhisattvas to Amitābha Buddha, and with Mahāsthāmaprāpta the three make a most popular trinity wherever the Pure Land teaching prevails. But in our case Kwannon is to be treated as an independent Bodhisattva and performing his functions as described in his sutra.¹

In comparing the *Kwannon Sutra* and the three sutras of Amida devotion, especially the *Sukhāvativyūha*, we notice these peculiarities in Kwannon: Kwannon manifests himself in this world (*sahaloka*) and saves people from varieties of calamities and sufferings they are likely to undergo while living on earth. Although Kwannon can manifest himself everywhere in all the worlds in the ten quarters, his chief work seems to be on this earth; he appears to us in various forms including the Buddha-body, the Pratyekabuddha-body, the Śrāvaka-body, the body of the Brahma king, the body of a great celestial being, and also all forms of human-kind, man and woman, rich and poor, noble and lowly, young and old. His principal mission consists in delivering us from all sorts of earthly tribulation, and this by means of his name which is pronounced by the devotees. His mission is also positive when he bestows on us multitudes of blessings as we appeal to his incomparable sovereign power of mercy by repeatedly pronouncing his name thus: "Na-mu kwan-ze-on dai-bosatsu" (in Chinese: "Nan-wu kuan-shih-

¹ The conception of Kwannon as attendant Bodhisattva to Amitābha is considered by some authorities to be a later development in the history of Buddhism. Originally Kwannon was an independent Bodhisattva. For instance, the portion of the gāthā in the "*Samantamukha-parivarta*" (Chapter XXIV of the *Puṇḍarīka*), where Kwannon is mentioned in association with Amitābha, is lacking in Kumārajīva's Chinese translation.

yin ta-pu-sa''). To sum up, he is the bestower of worldly blessings, he does not promise to take us to the other land where a better state of things than in this world prevails.

With Amida this is different. All his promises are for the Pure Land where he has his abode. He listens to every one of his devotees who will devotedly pronounce his name as in the case of Kwannon; but Amida is not necessarily concerned with the miseries and calamities which are innate in this world; instead of subduing them or delivering us from them, he carries us out of it when we die and transport us into quite a different realm, known as the Land of Bliss and Purity. All the sufferings we suffer here are due to our previous karma and ignorance. We are unable with our own resources moral and intellectual to escape the outcome of what will inevitably come upon us. This is in our own being. The only way to avoid the curse of karma is to call upon Amida by single-heartedly reciting his name. Amida tells us to accept what may befall us while living here, promising us the future bliss. He does not manifest himself to us in various forms as Kwannon does. In all this, we can at once discern how Amida is differentiated from Kwannon while both are working for the benefit of all beings. Their work does not collide, they supplement each other. Kwannon is of the world and in the world working for sentient beings, whereas Amida is above the world and outside the world. Amida's working power is more subtle and secret, while Kwannon does his work, as it were, more personally and directly and in an earthly manner.

The best way perhaps to illustrate the activity of Kwannon is the vision which Shinran Shōnin (1173-1262), the founder of the Shin school of the Pure Land in Japan, is said to have had while offering earnest prayers at Rokkakudō in Kyoto. His prayers were offered to Kwannon and not to Amida though he was a devoted follower of Amida. And it was this Kwannon who appeared to him in a vision pro-

missing to become his wife,¹ for to lead a married life was his previous karma even though he were a Buddhist monk. Amida accepts, so to speak, karma, and because of this he vows to take sentient beings into a world where karma is no more effective. But we human beings are such rebellious creatures as to awaken the desire to rise above our own karma even while in this life. And because of this rebellious spirit we pray and Kwannon listens to this prayer. Without Kwannon perhaps there is no prayerful life with us. Amida is near enough, it is true, to all of us, and yet he has his own Land of Purity in the Western quarter where we are invited to join him. He seems to be too great to mix himself up in our daily trivialities while he pities us because of our being so inextricably involved in them. Kwannon on the other hand is ever willing to share human fates by becoming one of us and intimately entering into our lives. This is why Kwannon finds his place at the rear of Pu-tai in the Chinese Buddhist monastery. And this is also why there are so many followers of the Kwannon cult also in Japan.

Further distinctive features of Kwannon as contrasted to Amida may be recounted as follows:

The one great attribute ascribed to Kwannon which makes him intimately related to his devotees is that he is ever ready to listen to their cry for help. That is, sufferers of every kind can offer prayers to him. Life is full of sufferings; however short our earthly lives are, none of us can ever expect to enjoy an unbroken succession of blessings; we are indeed so destined to bear tribulations in this world of patience, which is known as *sahaloka* in the Buddhist sutras. And we do not always know why we are to bear these sufferings, most of which quite frequently seem to be beyond the measure of the theory of karma. No doubt

¹ Kwannon is conceived in Japan also to be the Goddess of Mercy and not a god. He generally plays the rôle of a woman in the history of Japanese Buddhism.

we are taught by the Buddha to face them with a philosophical frame of mind and we endeavour to fortify ourselves against the assailants. But we are not after all very strong, being limited in knowledge, moral strength, and spiritual penetration; we long for a powerful help; we pray for what may be termed "supernatural" agency. We are prayerful creatures. As long as we remain finite beings we pray for what relieves us from this imperfection, even while living in this world, *sahaloka*. And these prayers offered by suffering mortals are heard by Kwannon, and not by Amida.

It may be unreasonable to try to escape the consequences of our own karma if this is truly the principle that governs our moral world. But the human heart is so made as to long even for the betterment or attenuation of this condition, if such is at all practicable. This is prayer for mercy. Without mercy the whole world is a desert. Kwannon is the oasis. How can we live without the cult of Kwannon?

No prayers of this sort are offerable to Amida.

What Amida promises us is supreme enlightenment, and this in his Land of Purity. Amida is evidently in despair for the attainment of enlightenment in this life which is the stage for karma to play out its prescribed programme. The followers of Amida claim to be beings of "inferior endowments," and his teaching is meant only for them. But how many of us are really so well-matured for realising perfect enlightenment while living this life of dust and dirt? The present social and physical environment in which we are all placed is the outcome, according to Buddhism, of our past karma, and none of us can escape all that comes out of this environment. Being so conditioned we are all poorly endowed, we are truly "inferior beings," and we can never hope for enlightenment in this life. Amida is logically consistent when he wants us to be born in his Land of Purity and Bliss where all conditions are at once fulfilled for our final emancipation, i.e., enlightenment. We can conclude in a way that the reason why Amida has conceived

his own kshetra called Sukhāvati is because he has altogether ceased from cherishing any hope for this world. He has no doubt a deep feeling for us suffering beings here and vows to save us from this miserable existence; but he does this by removing us from the conditions in which we are found. This is very fine, indeed. But we are unreasonable, we are like babes in many ways, we have an intense craving for deliverance from immediate sufferings, calamities, annoyances, difficulties, etc., even while living this life. We know this is the prayer going against the iron law of karma, and we have no power to rise above it. Hence the prayers are all offered to Kwannon who promises us to listen to them. Kwannon is the very Mahāsattva therefore meant for those unreasonable creatures called human beings. We may not obtain enlightenment through Kwannon, although this is the supreme end of this existence and every one of us ought to strive to have it in spite of every odd that is put up against us. Amida's all-merciful vows notwithstanding, we welcome Kwannon in the rôle of an "earthly" saviour.

Those who believe in Amida have their hopes thoroughly centered in the Pure Land. They expect to be born there after death, because it is only there that the possibility of enlightenment is brought to actuality. Insomuch that this is the world of forbearance (*sahaloka*), all kinds of hindrances are to be patiently endured while every preparation is to be made in the meantime for the world to come. Let this existence with all its shortcomings and consequent tribulations be accepted, if possible, gracefully, but if not, grumblingly though not so becoming to us sentient beings; for we cannot do anything with the conditions we find here, and Amida's vows, we may say, are not concerned with this side of existence so much as with the other side where is his own Land created by his vows. Amida is firmly convinced that enlightenment is not possible in this world, and, therefore, he wishes to take us up to the Sukhāvati. The latter is not

necessarily a land of happiness designed for sentient beings to enjoy themselves in an earthly manner. It is the kshetra ("field" or "realm") which is in harmonious relationship with the body (*kāya*) of enlightenment. The *kāya* and the kshetra must go always hand in hand. Enlightenment is realised in the body when it becomes the fit vessel for it, and the body becomes fit for enlightenment when it finds itself in the proper environment (*kshetra*) created by Amida. Or the order of description may be reversed. The proper kshetra first comes into existence by Amida's enlightenment; sentient beings are born into it, that is, the *kāya* is brought up into the kshetra. The *kāya* being thus brought up to come in contact with the kshetra, it becomes the organ for enlightenment, while enlightenment is not possible so long as we remain in this *kāya* in this world of suffering (*sahaloka*). This is the reason of Amida's vows to see sentient beings born into his kshetra instead of maturing their enlightenment here on earth. In fact the *kāya* is the kshetra, and the kshetra is the *kāya*. Wherever there is enlightenment, there is the body (*kāya*) of enjoyment, i.e., the Kshetra of Purity and Bliss (*sukhāvatī*). Amida's abode is, therefore, there and not here among us.

On the other hand, Kwannon lives among us. Whenever there is a cry for help because of unbearable pain he is sure to hear it and comes to us. He has innumerable times appeared on earth in accordance with his promises, and this is testified in the history of Buddhism. Amida's Pure Land stands vividly contrasted to this land of evils, and his efforts are directed towards the perfection of his own Kshetra. See how elaborately the miseries of this *sahaloka* are depicted in the *Sutra of the Buddha of Eternal Life* (*Sukhāvatīvyūha Sutra*), and again see how brilliantly and alluringly the scene of the Land of Bliss (*sukhāvatī*) is painted. The Amida devotees may be said to be living on expectation or hopefulness. But most of us are not satisfied with that, because we are suffering intensely at this very moment from

the most excruciating pains from whatever causes originating here on earth. Where would they go? To nobody else but to Kwannon.

Amida is intent on enlightenment while Kwannon busies himself with relief work as it were. To achieve this end Kwannon is told to transform himself into any forms he thinks proper for the occasion. The sutra enumerates only thirty-three transformations, but in fact he can become anything and accomplish the particular work of mercy he has conceived at the moment. If his devotee desires to attain perfect understanding of Buddhism through the teaching of the Twelvefold Chain of Origination, he will himself become a Pratyekabuddha and teach his devotee to work up the course the latter specially chose. If an Asura desires to be delivered from his Asurahood, Kwannon will appear before him in the form of his kind and teach him in the way of deliverance and let him attain his desire. Kwannon thus dividing himself in an infinite way lives among us, works with us, and is really our friend and companion. When this attribute of his is added to his other attributes such as responding to a call of help by suffering beings, who may deserve in point of fact their sufferings severally, he is truly one of the most lovable Bodhisattvas in the Buddhist Pantheon. He is the embodiment of Mercy.

Amida is no doubt also merciful as indeed all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are. But he is more adored for his Pure Land than for his transformation-bodies (*nirmāṇakāya*). The Buddhists go to him when they conceive the desire for birth in his Land and to Kwannon when they are unable to extricate themselves from all kinds of entanglement and hindrance which befall them in their daily earthly occupations. Each of them, we may say, has his own field of operation.

The fact is that we sentient beings living in this world of cause and effect are constantly craving for miracles. The life chained to the law of origination is too prosaic and

tiresome, and we have an insatiable longing for something quite out of the way, that is, for miracles which defy the law. Human beings are by nature rebels. When the bounds are broken through somehow, for good or bad, their spirits are sure to breathe a relief. Kwannon is a great miracle worker. When a man is about to be beheaded, he pronounces the name of Kwannon and, behold, the sword is broken to pieces. When the Yakshas and Raksharas filling the trichiliocosm appear before a man in the middle of the night with the intention to annoy him, let him once invoke Kwannon the Bodhisattva-mahāsattva, and the evil spirits will not be able even to look at him with an evil eye. Is this not a most wonderful event in this flat, stale, and unprofitable day? Our humdrum life occasionally requires such shell-burstings.

Amida however is not seen working that kind of miracle. His goes into the deeper recesses of the religious consciousness. His is in truth the grandest of all miracles. For it makes his devotees at once transcend the whole course of karma by just invoking him for once and without necessarily accumulating on the part of his devotees any special amount of merit towards the event. Kwannon may change the course of karma temporarily, but not in such a general manner as does Amida. The devotees of Amida will experience a miracle just once and for the last time. This miracle is revolutionary in every sense the term implies; for thereby the whole tide of creation which has been steadily advancing up to this last moment is made completely to roll back; all the residues of sin or demerit which are still heavy enough to turn the scale away from the path of the Sukhāvātī are now transferred on to Amida, and his devotees are securely taken into his arms and assured of their ultimate emancipation in the environment specially created for them. Is this not the grandest of all the miracles recorded in the annals of any religion?

Kwannon may in this respect be considered a handmaid

to Amida. While the stanzas 28-33 of the gāthās in the Chapter XXIV of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, are no doubt later additions, the reference to Avalokiteśvara (or Kwannon) as standing to the right or to the left of Amitābha (Amida) is significant. Traditionally, it is Kwannon who extends his merciful arms to a devotee at his last moment in order to carry him to the presence of Amida. Kwannon is nearer to us and worries over our physical and social tribulations. Amida is a great comforter when the whole problem of existence is involved, and no one can dispense with him. But for this reason Kwannon is not to be neglected or slighted. He is also a source of consolation when we realise how full of calamities this life is and how readily Kwannon will respond to our call for help. If the worship of Amida may be regarded as more idealistic and truly spiritual, the Kwannon cult tends more towards the social and materialistic conception of life. If Amida is super-realistic, Kwannon is earthly and sensuous. If Amida's Pure Land is beyond the grasp of the logical mind, Kwannon's Potalaka is accessible to every one of us supplied with all the bodily organs.

Compared with Amida, Kwannon is thus more socially and materialistically characterised and seems to be interested in the physical welfare of his devotees. It is true that he teaches the Dharma to all beings in order to lead them to enlightenment and that for this reason he is known as the Giver of Faith or Fearlessness (*abhayaṇḍada*). But the deepest image he leaves in the minds of his devotees as the most distinctive feature of Kwannon is not always this quality of his as Dharma-teacher or an agent of enlightenment, but his virtue of imparting to them a sense of fearlessness in the midst of the raging waves, in the burning flames of the pit, or when threateningly surrounded by demons, spirits, Nāgas, etc.

But compared with Pu-tai, Kwannon is a great miracle-worker highly coloured with religious feeling. Pu-tai re-

presents the social and individual values as conceived by the Chinese mind; and there is not much of religious mysticism in him. He stands before the Chinese Buddhists as a transformation-body of Maitreya, to which extent he exhibits an element of mystery. But in his case this association with mystery does not seem to impress us very deeply, for his moral characteristics shine out more overwhelmingly. The Buddhist heart longs to go far beyond this, that is, it craves for supernaturalism and no doubt the satisfaction comes from Kwannon in the rock-cave of Potalaka.

Having noted some principal points of differentiation between Amida and Kwannon and also between Kwannon and Pu-tai, we finish this section with this remark:

Chinese psychology as far as we can see in Chinese Buddhist arts is more inclined to sensualism than to idealism, it is more realistic and materialistic than purely symbolical as is Indian genius. So, Kwannon is most realistically represented against the background of a rock-grotto, with waves, palaces, devotees, etc. Pu-tai is the Chinese pattern of individual perfection in social environment; Kwannon is an object of devotion and prayer, he is appealed to by the human heart in affliction, more or less worldly. With the Chinese as with any sentient beings, the genuinely religious aspirations are to be satisfied by Amida, they must not stop with Kwannon. But when we have Kwannon among us, we feel restful. The Chinese Buddhists are, therefore, justified in having Kwannon share the altar back to back with Pu-tai.

Another remark. That the worshipping of Kwannon did not go against that of Amida, but that it was rather encouraged is shown by the following statement by Tz'u-min (慈恩, 680-748) of T'ang, who was, as is noticed later, one of the earlier advocates of the Nembutsu and Zen in the history of Chinese Buddhism.

"Those who, turning their thoughts towards the Pure Land wish to be born there, should with due decorum directly face the West and fix their thoughts on Amida

Buddha. Let them thinking of him constantly, without interruption, pronounce his name whether walking or standing, sitting or lying. Let them always think of him and pronounce his name. Let them also think of Kwan-shih-yin (i.e. Kwannon). They should once every day recite the *Sukhāvatīvyūha Sutra* and the *Amida Sutra*. As to liquor, meat, onions, and spices, they should avoid them even unto death, they should not touch them even as medicine. They should with due respect observe the fast days and the precepts, and be thoroughly pure in their threefold action. Thinking of the Buddha and reciting the sutras, let their minds turn towards the Pure Land and desire to be born there in the highest realm of the first order."

III. NEMBUTSU AND ZEN

Japanese Zen travellers in China deplore the fact that there is no more Zen in China as it used to prevail in T'ang and Sung when so many able Zen masters followed one after another and when Zen was such a powerful spiritual influence especially among the intelligentsia. It is true that Zen Buddhism as it is practised in China at present has undergone phases of change since Sung and Yüan; and it is unlikely at least in the near future that Zen can be restored to its ancient glory. Unless the modern trends of thought and feeling are made to swing in another direction, the Chinese Buddhists may not be awakened to a fuller appreciation of their past work. But inasmuch as Zen is the native product of the Chinese mind after its intimate contact with the Indian thought as represented by Buddhism, the time will surely come when Zen will begin to assert itself in a new form of expression. There is the entire literature of Zen experience still well preserved in China. The practice of meditation goes on in the name of the Nembutsu. Some day a great Buddhist may rise from among these earnest followers of the Nembutsu and reinstate Zen to its proper seat of honour. We must know in the meantime how Zen

came to be, as it were, replaced by the Nembutsu and also how the latter is practised at present in China.

It was indeed due to Zen that the Sung philosophers were enabled to formulate what is known as Li-hsüeh (理學) or "system of philosophy." There are two periods in the history of Chinese thought when the Chinese mind reached its height of intellectual activity: the one is the ante-Ch'in and the other the Sung. All the original ideas native to Chinese genius were perhaps exhausted in the former, while the Sung thinkers showed what they could do with the ideas transplanted from abroad. In fact, really great philosophical minds are to be sought among the Buddhist scholars of Sui and T'ang, when Buddhism was such a stimulation to the Chinese intellectuals that all the great systems of Buddhist thought were then formulated. But it was not until Sung came to power that the Confucian philosophers began to work out their own methodology under the provocation of Zen mysticism; for mysticism in any form is always provoking, and this was the case with Confucianism in a most lively sense. The Laotzuan philosophy approaches mysticism and might have awakened the Confucians to the re-valuation of their own thought. But the Laotzuan mysticism somehow lacked the power to stir up the disciples of Kung to this effect, perhaps because Taoism was too world-flying and anarchistic and as a thought was not fertile and productive enough. It was different with Zen. Zen was comprehensive and all-embracing not only as a philosophy, but also as a religion. As a philosophy it covered Confucianism as well as Laotzuanism; as a religion it penetrated deeply into the basis of our practical life including all its various aspects. And in this latter respect the Confucians had great concern and could not ignore the claim of Zen to the practical philosophy of life.

When the Indian form of Buddhist mysticism was acclimatised, it became Zen; Zen is the Chinese adoption of Buddhism. Thus adopted, Zen was legitimatised into the

Chinese family of thought, and in turn gave birth to the Sung philosophy.

Zen in Sung influenced not only the world of thought but the world of art. Those Zen pictures that are preserved in Japan (being lost in their native land), bespeak eloquently of the extent to which the spirit of Zen has entered into the minds of the artists. This will readily be recognised by those who study such monk-painters as Mu-chi, Liang-kai, and others. Their works, I am told, are in a sense a departure from the tradition of orthodox Chinese paintings.

Indeed it is this kind of Zen when the Japanese critics refer to the fate of Zen in Chinese Buddhism of modern times. The Zen they have in mind is that of Sung and T'ang, because they know it best and it is this Zen that is still thriving in a way in Japan. But it may not be quite reasonable to expect of Chinese religious thought to remain stationary or rather stagnant all the time. Not only that, Zen as it was practised in Sung was prophetic of changes. While the development of the Koan exercise was unavoidable or rather the outcome of the natural course of Zen consciousness, it was destined to undergo another turn of fate. This was to take place more readily in China where no strong sectarian spirit is asserted, that is, where there is no differentiation of sects and consequently there is no growth of partisan rivalry and antagonism. For this reason, Zen and Nembutsu—the latter had been growing up steadily ever since the introduction of Buddhism in China—were to be merged instead of each marking its line of differentiation sharply and deeply against the other and defending it as it were at daggers drawn. Is it rather in consonance with Chinese psychology to keep things more or less in a chaotic state in which signs of inner differentiation are not allowed to develop too individualistically? As with the large family system which is the characteristic feature of Chinese communal life, so with Buddhism minor differences are absorbed within the main body to which they all belong. Thus, in-

stead of pursuing its own course Zen in Yüan and Ming turned towards the Nembutsu, the practice of which had then gathered great momentum among the multitudes. The Zen of T'ang and Sung disappeared, and what may be termed "Nembutsu Zen" came up to take its place.

As I pointed out in my *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, Series II, there is psychologically a common ground covered both by the Koan exercise and the practice of Nembutsu. It was not against the nature of Zen discipline as it went on in Sung to adapt itself to the mentality of the Nembutsu practiser. Perhaps there was no need for Zen to take this step if it had an unobstructed path ahead of it. In point of fact, Zen appeals to a very limited number of people who are intellectually well trained¹ and at the same time endowed with an amount of devotional piety. The impossibility of keeping up this exclusiveness on the part of Zen made it turn towards the Nembutsu. Unless a Hakuin had been born in China about the time Shuko (Chu Hung) of Unseiji (Yün-ch'i Ssü) was flourishing, the tide could never have been any other way than actually took place. The growing prevalence of the Nembutsu naturally influenced Zen, and Zen was ready to unite its force with the Nembutsu, partly for self-preservation.

Syncretic movements have been going on for some time in China—of Zen with Buddhist philosophy, of Zen with Taoism and Confucianism, of Zen with Nembutsu, etc. The success of the movements is not so manifest except with regard to Zen and Nembutsu, which is practically demonstrated in present day Buddhism.

¹ This does not mean to be scholarly, or philosophically minded. In fact, I am unable to find a good English word to express what I have in mind. It is a certain kind of intuition that Zen requires, and this intuition is gained when all the intellectual efforts are exhausted, that is, when all the attempts to understand life dualistically come to a halt and are unable to open up a new path leading to a new interpretation of life. The psychological study of intuition has not yet been quite thoroughly carried out, especially from the Buddhist point of view.

Zen is iconoclastic and pays no respect to tradition and authority. This is because it is rebellious in spirit and fully realises all the dangers attendant to intellectual systematisation and conventional institutionalism. But for this very reason it is liable to ignore the limits naturally set for it and go all the length of liberatinism. This historical tendency has been observed ever since its inception in early T'ang. Tz'u-min who is one of the great Pure Land teachers of T'ang severely attacks the followers of Zen on this particular score. We read in his writing on the Pure Land, the fragments of which have been recently discovered in Korea by Dr Genmyo Ono:

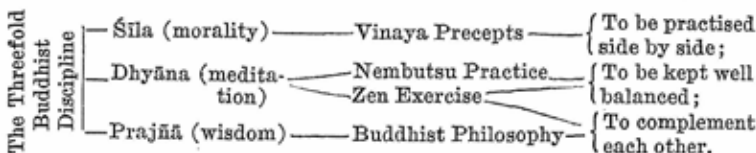
"To establish what is right we ought to put down first what is not right. Destruction must come before construction.... There are some Buddhists teaching 'purity,' which is absolute nothingness. Seeing that the world with all its multitudes is ultimately empty, they say that there is no reality, all is like horns of the hare or hair on the turtle; there are no goods which are to be practised, no evils which are to be avoided; whatever forms one gets attached to in mind, including the Buddha and his sutras, are to be kept away; only let the inner mind abide in emptiness, in the emptiness of all things; and you are a Buddha yourself, you have realised Zen, you have cut off the bond of birth-and-death, you will suffer no rebirth, and what is the use of exerting yourself and seeking for the ancient Buddha? There is no need of reciting the sutras, no need of saying the Nembutsu, which is not the way of deliverance. All the Paramitas, except devoting oneself to this kind of Zen practice, lead to birth-and-death; copying sutras, erecting statues, building shrines and pagodas, worshipping and paying reverence to holy figures, practising filial piety, serving teachers and elders, and many other deeds—they all belong to the *samskrita* and not to the *asamskrita*. As long as there are attachments, attainments, desires, and discriminations, all the exercises lead one to the path of birth-and-death; and

there is in them no final emancipation. This is what is claimed by followers of Zen. But the falsehood of this teaching is patent because the sutras teach otherwise, and are not the sutras the teaching of the Buddha? If so, we Buddhists have no right to run against his teaching. As facts stand, those Zen devotees devote a little time in the evening to the practice of Zen, and during the day they sleep or otherwise are riotous, paying very slight attention to the rules of life as bequeathed to us by the Buddha."

This is the way T'zu-min starts his discourse on the Pure Land doctrine. He then proceeds to dwell on the insurmountable difficulties which stand in the Zen way of attaining enlightenment. He regards on the other hand the teaching and practice of the Nembutsu as the best means to realise all that is desired by followers of the Buddha. Of the 84,000 ways of attaining enlightenment, the Nembutsu is the easiest, the most practical, the quickest and the most universal one; for thereby we can see the Buddha, escape the curse of birth-and-death, perfect the Dhyana discipline, attain emancipation and miraculous powers, realise the saintly life, and manifesting ourselves in the six paths of existence save all sentient beings from being drowned in the ocean of birth-and-death. Let us, therefore, devote ourselves to the practice of the Nembutsu most sincerely and whole-heartedly and untiringly even for this one life, and, as the Buddha teaches, we shall be reborn in the Land of Bliss and Purity, where all our aspirations will be thoroughly fulfilled.

T'zu-min was thus a strong advocate of the Nembutsu, and although he was vehemently against the followers of Zen as he understood it in his day, he was not against Zen itself; he wanted to practise it along with the Nembutsu in order to prevent Zen from going astray for the reason of its being too one-sided. His idea was to keep the threefold discipline of Buddhism in perfect balance so that the one would not be emphasised at the expense of the other two.

This idea may be illustrated in the following diagram:



Zen as it was practised in China since its early days tended to ignore the study of the sutras and their philosophy on the one hand and to despise on the other the various rules of morality and the religious observations traditionally set up for pious Buddhists. This antinomianistic tendency may be said to be inherent in Zen and will show it loudly when it is handled by unenlightened followers of Zen. The masters were, therefore, always giving warnings to their disciples not to misinterpret the true spirit of Zen. The undesirable effect became, however, already visible as early as in the days of T'zu-min. And no doubt this led him to become one of the first great syncretists of Zen and Nembutsu in the history of Chinese Buddhism. Fa-chao (法照) of T'ang, Yen-shou (延壽) of Five Dynasties, Yüan-chao (元照) of Sung, Chu-hung (株宏) and Chih-hsü (智旭) of Ming, and other syncretists may be all said to have followed the example of T'zu-min, and the Chinese Buddhism of modern times is the practical outcome of all these movements.

While visiting Su-chou, I had the good opportunity of interviewing Rev. Yin-kuang (印光), of Pao-kuo Ssü in the city of Su-chou. We talked about Zen and Nembutsu. His view of Zen was quite definitive. According to it, the realisation attained by the practice of Zen is not a final one, it does not go beyond mere intellectual understanding (解 *chieh*). To attain Buddhahood means to have a *chêng* (證), and not a *chieh*. *Chêng* is deeper and one's entire personality is involved; it is an experience in the inmost recesses of Buddha-consciousness; it is beyond our human understanding which has its own conditions and limitations as

long as we are beings belonging to the relative plane of existence. *Chêng* is possible only when these earthly conditions are dissolved. Zen is an experience we have while in this body, and, therefore, can never make us come face to face to the ultimate reality. We must, therefore, be born in the Land of Purity in order to attain Buddhahood which is *chêng*. In the Land of Purity, conditions are such as to allow us to have this transcendental experience. All we have to do in this life, or all we can do while here, is to practise the Nembutsu whereby it is made possible for us to effect a rebirth in Amida's realm. This is Amida's vow as told in the various sutras. Zen is really meant for those only who are rich in endowments and can go through all the difficulties incident to the discipline of Zen. Zen is too exclusive and aristocratic for common mortals who are heavily laden with all sorts of karma-hindrances gathered up in their previous lives. Reciting the Nembutsu with all the possible spiritual strength that is left to us in order to be born in the Pure Land, is all that is required of us here, and it is not so difficult as Zen and just the thing for us all.

This kind of view is generally held by the followers of Jōdo (*ching-t'u*, land of purity), and Rev. Yin-kuang is one of the great advocates of this view now living in China. Each not being able to speak the other's language, I had to desist from a further talk with this interesting reverend Buddhist scholar-monk. He was leading a secluded life known as *pi-kuan*, which means "frontier-gate closed," and we were only allowed to speak to him through a narrow window such as we see in a cashier's office or a post-office. It was due to his utmost kindness that he put himself from his practice of the Nembutsu aside in order to see us for a while.

When I talked about the Shin school of the Pure Land teaching in Japan, the followers of which, claiming themselves to belong to a class of sentient beings considered "low and inferior," are in the habit of leading a married life and

of eating meat, Rev. Yin-kuang at once responded, rejecting their claim as Buddhists. His idea perhaps was this: However "low and inferior" we may be, no Buddhist monks are to marry and eat meat. This is forbidden with utmost emphasis by the Buddha, and even so-called "low and inferior" beings who cannot take to Zen and therefore are to be Pure Land devotees, ought not to be so degraded as to contradict the Buddha's injunctions. To disobey the Buddha and yet to desire his help—this is the height of irrationality and indeed offering a grave affront to the Buddha.

Here is a great spiritual dilemma: To be so "low and inferior" as not to be able even to follow the Buddha's injunctions, and yet to be earnestly desirous of being saved by the power of the Buddha-dharma. Will the Buddha be so hard-hearted, as it were, not to mind those inferior beings? Will he leave them rolling in the mire of birth-and-death until their karma is exhausted? But if they are really inferior their karma will never have the chance to reform itself, as they will be piling one evil karma upon another all the time. But if the Buddha's mercy and compassion is infinite, it ought to reach those inferior beings incapable of being saved by their own efforts. The "other-power" ought to be made somehow to take in even those depraved ones. The Shin teaching is the response to this desperate cry on the part of the "unsavable," of the really "low and inferior." Will the Chinese devotees of the Pure Land School ever dare to listen to this kind of irrationality? A most elaborate system of Buddhist philosophy has developed in Japan about this spiritual irrationality. It may not be a mere waste of time for Chinese Buddhist scholars to study the Shin literature that has grown during these six hundred years around the doctrine of Amida's original vows.

The desire for immortality and the desire for the Pure Land are both derived from our innate longing for our own original birth-place. When we gain this birth-place, the kind of immortality we sought for while here may be

found to be altogether different from what we may have then. When we are reborn in the land of Amida, the body we shall then assume may be altogether different from the one we are supposed to leave behind when the time comes. However this is, we all wish to be back in our native place. For this life in the relative plane of existence seems to be something not exactly belonging to our inner self. We feel always constrained in it, we long for deliverance and freedom. In this Buddhism and Christianity are one.

The question is whether this returning is effected by self-power alone, or by other-power alone, or by their combination. Monergism¹ or synergism, theology may have much to discuss about; but as far as our practical life is concerned, each of us will settle it in his own way to his own satisfaction. I wonder what will be the future development of Chinese Buddhism, individually and as a whole, along this line of thought.

After reading some of the Jōdo-Zen literature which was published or reprinted in Rev. Yin-kuang's monastery, Pao-kuo Ssū, and which he was kind enough to let us have, I add the following quotations from it:

1. The Zen followers, according to the Jōdo or Ching-t'u, are depending solely on their self-power (*tzū-li*) to attain the end of their life, that is, deliverance from birth-and-death. But all that they can really have is a kind of intellectual insight into the reason of one's existence or, as they express it, "to see the nature" (*chien-hsing*) of one's being. This "seeing" is, however, no easy task, and moreover if "the nature" is at all seen, the seeing must be penetrating enough so that the root of all evil karma is completely cut off. The "seeing" is, therefore, not enough, it must be a realisation of the most thorough nature. If there is the least bit of evil karma left, or if there is the

¹ Not necessarily in its theological sense here but rather in its literal sense—"single-work" as equivalent to "self-power." In the purely theological sense monergism corresponds to the Shin Buddhist idea of "other-power" alone.

faintest shadow of obscurity in the intuition, this will hinder your deliverance from birth-and-death. Supreme enlightenment is something extremely hard to attain for most of us of these days.

2. Chao-chou (趙州) was one of the greatest Zen masters of China, and yet he had to pass his time in Zen pilgrimage until he was eighty years because he was not quite sure of himself. Chang-ching (長慶), another great Zen master, is said to have worn out seven cushions under his seat before he attained his enlightenment. Yung-ch'üan (涌泉) still remained unsatisfied with himself even after forty years of study. Hsüeh-fêng (雪峰) visited T'ou-tzū three times and climbed up to Tung-shan nine times to complete his training in Zen. Wu-tso Kai (五祖戒) was re-born as Su Tung-p'o (蘇東坡) and T'sao-t'ang Ch'ing (草堂清) as Lu-kung (魯公) because the Zen attainment of both masters was not thorough enough. These examples in the annals of Zen are sufficient to prove the enormous amount of difficulties one has to overcome in order to attain the highest degree of "seeing," or to realise the clearest possible view of the entire scheme of reality. This is simply because the Zen masters are depending entirely on their self-power which excludes even the merciful mediation of a higher being such as the Buddha or Bodhisattva.

3. While going through this life of ignorance in which truth and error are confusingly mixed up, we confront all manners of situations rising at every moment of our living. It is like looking for the sun when the threatening clouds are sweeping across the sky. The thickly-gathered vapour may disperse for a while allowing us to see the sunlight, but when the weather is in this unsettled condition, who can ever expect anything of the midsummer day? Changes may take place quite suddenly, and all that we have been enjoying awhile ago may for ever vanish. Unless one is a great expert in this branch of knowledge, nothing definite can be prognosticated. In a similar manner, when a man is

struggling hard against all forms of mental confusion, emotional and intellectual, an evil spirit will find fine opportunities to exercise its influence over him, and his mind may go astray without his realising it. When this takes place, there is no cure for him. He is for ever lost. This is because he refuses to avail himself of another power.

4. It is a patent fact that Zen is not meant for everybody and further that even when it is practised by people most richly endowed and spiritually gifted, they may not always be able to attain final enlightenment (*chêng*) which will enable them to remove all the hindrances. What the Zen masters express themselves in words sound fine and enhancing and alluring too. But really they are no more than statements of metaphysical understanding, and the masters' inner life which they are actually living betrays all forms of karma-hindrances both intellectual and affectional. And because of this, they are still in the clutches of birth-and-death.

5. Those who are warmly clad and nourishingly fed may well say that they are not attached to things material. But are they really? The hungry ones who have not had a bowl of rice for some days may well declare that even if they see dishes filled with all kinds of tempting food spread right before them they would reject them as filth heaped; but this is no more than mere talk on their part, the declaration falls flat in the face of an eloquent fact. Followers of Zen too frequently commit this kind of fault.

6. On the other hand, the Ching-t'u is fortified with Faith (*hsin*), Will (*yüan*), and Work (*hsing*), and by virtue of these the devotees are reborn in the Land of Bliss and Purity. They do not have to purgate themselves of all the karma-hindrances that are to be left within them. The Faith is to believe in the original vows of Amitābha who assures his devotees of their rebirth if they accept his vows. The Will is to desire for his Land where all the conditions are provided for the full attainment of enlightenment by those

permitted there. The Work is to practise the Nembutsu (*nien-fo*) repeating "Nan-wu-o-mi-to-fo" with all the sincerity of heart in one's possession. This can be done by all people however "inferior" or "ordinary" their natural endowments are; for each of them finds his suitable place in the Pure Land.

7. What is required of the Ching-t'u devotees is first of all to have absolute faith in Amitābha and rely upon his power to take them under his saving arms. They have realised how inefficacious their self-power is for the achievement of a great deed known as "deliverance from birth-and-death." When this faith is fully established, the power of the Buddha is added to theirs, and sustains them throughout their lives and takes them into his realm even with all their karma-hindrances which are successfully removed once in the Pure Land. Faith awakens the will or desire to be born there, for this rebirth is the condition which enables the Ching-t'u devotees to attain what they want. The desire naturally moves over to work or the practice of saying the Nembutsu. The Nembutsu is really the expression of faith, that is, faith if it is a genuine one must terminate in work. To think of the Buddha, which is the literal meaning of Nembutsu, is in other words to see the Buddha. The thinking points to the seeing, and the seeing is the being born into the Buddha-field. From the first stage of faith up to the seeing of the Buddha, there is the constant working of the Buddha's power over his devotees, and the latter are saved from going astray as in the case of Zen in their upward course of spiritual development.¹

Considering all in all, the difference between Jōdo (Ching-t'u) and Zen is that of the attitude one takes by reason of one's psychology towards the fundamental teaching of Buddhism. The difference of "inferior root" (*hsia-kên*) and "superior root" (*shang-kên*) so much talked

¹ 1-7 are abstracts from Rev. Yin-kuang's "Sayings" called *Yin-kuang Chia-yen Lu*.

about by followers of the Jōdo is not at all that of qualitative valuation, but merely that of psychological type. "Superiority" does not necessarily mean superiority of mind in every aspect of its activity, and "inferiority" its reverse. The "superior" indicates the intellectual or philosophical type of mind, while the "inferior" the affectional or devotional type. The chief characteristic that distinguishes the philosophically inclined people is their spirit of inquiry. For whatever subject they approach they assume an inquiring attitude, wanting to find out what and why and how they are, etc. This is a philosophical habit of mind. The devotional type on the other hand is more subjective and reflective in the sense that it is more conscious of its own shortcomings and weaknesses. It is not quite sure of itself. It does not know whether the instruments available for use are exact enough for the purpose. Instead of examining these instruments scientifically it feels the weight of its "karma-hindrances" so called and is strongly impelled towards the desire to be relieved of the burden.

With the Zen type of mind, such characters¹ as *ming*, "to make clear"; *chien*, "to see into"; *chao*, "to illumine"; *wu*, "to awake to" or "to understand"; *ch'ê*, "to discern" or "to penetrate" are most frequently met with. They all show that the attitude of Zen towards its object is to have a kind of philosophical insight, to comprehend it intuitively. This inner perception is always aimed at by Zen. The devotional type is more concerned with its own weaknesses and sufferings. When it observes on the one hand how imperfect and iniquitous this world is and on the other how helpless it is to cope with this situation—not only with itself but with the whole environment, it is deeply impressed with the enormity of its karma-hindrances. This feeling makes the Jōdo followers flee from their self-power which is too feeble to achieve anything by itself, to the other-power which is strong enough to lift them up from the mire of

¹ 明. 見. 照. 悟. 徹.

finitude and imperfection. Zen is in one sense "monergistic," and Jōdo "synergistic."

The following further expresses Rev. Yin-kuang's idea of Jōdo:¹

"The teaching of the Nembutsu has a long history. The Mind (*hsin*) from which a thought (*nien*) is awakened is in its nature like the vacuity of space, it remains all the time unchanged. Although thus unchanged in itself all the time, it allows itself to function variously, in accordance with conditions. If it does not function according to the conditions of the Buddha-realm, it functions according to those of the other nine realms. If it does not function according to the conditions of the Triple Vehicle, it functions according to those of the six paths of existence. If it does not function according to the conditions of the human or the celestial world, it functions according to those of the three evil paths. Under this influence of those conditions variously graded in spiritual value pure or defiled, the reward each of us will enjoy betrays marked degrees of variation from a state of perfect happiness to that of utmost pain.

"While the Mind-substance remains forever unchanged, its indications and functions are considerably differentiated. It is like the sky. When the sun shines it is clear; when clouds are gathered it is dark. The sky in itself remains forever the same regardless of the sun shining or the cloud rising. But as far as its atmospheric indications are concerned there is a great difference between the blue sky and overcast cloudiness, no comparison is to be made between the two. This is the reason why the Buddha makes us all direct our thoughts towards him. So it is said that if we remember the Buddha and think of him we shall most assuredly come into his presence either in this life or in the one to come, for we are not far away from him; again it is said that all the Buddhas and Tathāgatas make up the Dharmadhātu-body and are in the minds and thoughts of all

¹ *Ibid.*

beings, and therefore that when we think of the Buddha in our mind, the mind takes a form with all the thirty-two marks and eighty minor marks of the Buddha-body. This mind becomes the Buddha; this mind is the Buddha; the ocean of all the Buddhas, of all the all-knowing ones grows out of one's own mind and its thoughts. This being so, when the mind functions according to the conditions of the Buddha-realm, this mind becomes the Buddha, and this mind is the Buddha. When it functions according to the conditions of the different realms of beings, this mind becomes all kinds of beings. When this reason is understood, who would not devote himself to the practice of the Nembutsu?

"The practice of the Nembutsu finds its principle in the august name of the Buddha, in which all the spiritual virtues are found embraced. For this august name is the truth of supreme enlightenment experienced by the Buddha as the fruit of his long life of spiritual discipline. When this spiritual fruit of enlightenment is taken into the cause-mind of the Nembutsu devotee, this cause-mind is made to hold in it the fruit-ocean of enlightenment so that the fruit will thoroughly permeate the mind of the Nembutsu devotee. It is like a man suffused with fine scent, his body is fragrant. It is again like the *lo-lo*'s hailing the *ming-ling*, after a long while the latter is transformed into a *lo-lo*. According to an ancient popular belief, the wasp called *lo-lo* causes a transformation in the body of the *ming-ling* (a larva) and adopts it as its own child. The transformation takes place by the *lo-lo*'s constantly addressing to the *ming-ling*, "Be my child, be my child!" for a period of seven days. In a similar way, when a man unceasingly thinks of the Buddha, he himself is transformed into the Buddha-body and becomes a Buddha. Thus, we can see that without changing the nature of an ordinary sentient being such as each of us is, he becomes a Buddha; those who were mere common people yesterday have turned into sages today. The work so

wonderfully efficiently accomplished by the practice of the Nembutsu really surpasses anything achieved by all the other teachings and doctrines and exercises recommended by the Buddhists.

"The reason for this wonder is explained in the following manner. While all the Buddhist teachings other than the Nembutsu are dependent on the devotee's self-power whereby he exerts himself to cut off all the hindrances intellectual as well as affectional, to attain the realisation of the ultimate truth which is supreme enlightenment, and finally thus to see into the meaning of life and effect deliverance from the cycle of birth-and-death; the practice of the Nembutsu is the combination of the devotee's self-power and the other-power of all the Buddhas. Because of this union, those who have successfully freed themselves from the hindrances of karma and knowledge are enabled instantly to realise the Dharmakāya; whereas even those who are still dragging the heavy load of karma and knowledge behind them are allowed with all these hindrances to be reborn in the Land of Purity and Bliss where they will attain to supreme enlightenment. This practice is perfectly ordinary and even people of really inferior endowments are able to follow it and reap all the spiritual advantages to be derived therefrom—all this is really beyond the conception of our understanding. Bodhisattvas of the highest order are not to go beyond the Nembutsu's sphere of influence.

"Therefore, there is indeed no one who is unable to practise the Nembutsu; there is no one who is unable to achieve its end. In spite of its easy practice, the result it brings about is altogether incalculable in measure and quick as regards time. The Nembutsu is the most special teaching given out by the Buddha throughout his long life of missionary activities, it is not to be judged by the ordinary standard of Buddhist philosophy. We of these latter days are poor in merit and shallow in wisdom, heavily laden with hindrances and helplessly oppressed by karma; and if we

do not embrace this gladsome teaching of the all-merciful Buddha, what can we do to save ourselves from birth-and-death? Let us forever abandon the work of self-power which is beset with tens of thousands of difficulties untold."

IV. THE OLD MASTERS ON THE JŌDO

From these quotations we can see to a certain extent where the Jōdo teaching stands by itself and also against that of Zen. But as this is not the proper place to discuss the subject much longer or more fully, I quote passages from the old masters who are highly esteemed by the modern Jōdo devotees in China and from the sutra known as *Śūraṅgama*.¹ The sutra is generally classified as belonging to the esoteric school of Buddhism, but it is also much read by Zen people. It was translated into Chinese during the T'ang dynasty by a monk from Central India in the year 705. It also contains a chapter on Kwannon based on the "Samantamukha-parivarta" in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarika*.

1. Chih-hsü (智旭, 1599-1655), also known as Ou-i the Great Teacher, was a great master of Zen and Tendai and Jōdo at the end of Ming, the author of a great many books on various subjects relating to Buddhist philosophy, and one of the best-known syncretists of the seventeenth century.

²"Both Zen and Jōdo are the teaching of the most excellent Dharma. Only beings are variously endowed, and it will naturally be necessary to lead them according to their capacities and conditions. As to the highest teaching of Buddhism it is neither Zen nor Jōdo, and it is both Zen and Jōdo. When you even cherish a thought of inquiry [as regards the truth of Zen], you are forcing yourself to become an inferior being. If you are a man of character as you are, you will verily believe that this Mind becomes the Buddha and that this Mind is the Buddha. Let one thought

¹ There is another sutra bearing the same title translated by Kumārajīva; they are entirely different, and must not be confused.

² A freely translated abstract, from the seventh section of *The Ten Principal Treatises of the Jōdo* (Ching-t'u Shih-yao).

of yours deviate from the Buddha, you are not in the Nembutsu Samādhi yet. But when every thought of yours is on the Buddha and not at all separated from him, what is the use of troubling yourself about the one who inquires? Therefore, such exercises as [are practised by the Buddhists these days] the inquiring into the 'who' of the Nembutsu, or the collecting of thought or the regulating of the breath, are not the essentials of the Nembutsu practice. For what is most essential to it is that there is no Buddha outside your thought, for the Buddha is in the very thought that thinks of him; that there is no thought of yours outside the Buddha, for it is in him the very moment he is thought of.

"The Nembutsu is started simply, and you are not thinking of the four propositions, nor of a series of negations; for your entire being is poured into the Nembutsu. Then you see a ray of light issuing from one of the pores of the skin of Amida,—which is at the same time seeing all the innumerable Buddhas in the ten quarters. You are here born in the Buddha-field of Amida, his Land of Purity in the Western quarter—which is at the same time being born in all the Buddha-fields in the ten quarters. This is the highest passage open to the Nembutsu practisers.....

"Intensely believing in this Jōdo teaching, make your will dependent on this faith, and begin your work dependent on this will. It is then that the Buddhas innumerable issue out of every thought of yours, and that you find yourself sitting in all the Buddha-fields as innumerable as the sands of the Gangā extending over the ten quarters, and further that you are revolving the great Dharma-wheel illuminating the past, present, and future....."

2. Chu-hung (株宏, 1532-1612), known as Lien-ch'ih the Great Teacher, was quite an outstanding character in the latter part of the Ming dynasty. He was a great Zen master, and at the same time also a great advocate of the Jōdo teaching. He was a most influential leader in directing the course of Chinese Buddhist thought towards the practising

of the Nembutsu. As the eighth patriarch of the Jōdo teaching, he is daily paid homage to at the Chinese monastery. For this reason he is not liked by the Japanese Zen masters, especially by Hakuin (1685-1768) and his followers. But we can notice that in the following sermon¹ given by Lien-ch'ih the Great Teacher there is something of Zen psychology.

"False thought (*wang-nien*) is a disease and the Nembutsu (*nien-fo*) is the medicine. When a disease has been going on for a long time it is difficult for the patient to be cured of it by means of a few doses of medicine. In the same way, the accumulation of false thoughts can never be wiped off by means of the Nembutsu practised just for a short while. Do not mind how disturbingly your false thoughts may fly about, only let your Nembutsu come out of your sincere heart and be constant. Let each sound be distinctly pronounced, let each phrase uninterruptedly follow the other. When you hold on to it with all the power you can set forth, you are moving somewhat towards your objective. The accumulation of energy that has been going on for a long period of time, will one day all of a sudden come to a point of maturity and an explosion takes place. Like rubbing off a bat to make a needle out of it, or like striking an iron bar to turn it into steel, [a long patient working is needed], and the result will not deceive you. There are many ways to enter the path, but this [Nembutsu] exercise is the one shortest way possible. Never be negligent!"

3. The following is given in the *Daily Reciter*¹ simply as a sermon given to those who desire by means of the Nembutsu to be reborn in the Land of Purity, and the name of the teacher is not given. In this the Zen note is distinctly struck, showing that Chinese Buddhism of the present day is a kind of hybrid between Zen and Jōdo with something too of the Shingon.

¹ *Daily Reciter of the Zen Monastery* (*ch'an-mên jih-k'ê*), circulated in China.

"Those who are devoted to the practice of the Nembutsu (*nien-fo*) should know that the Buddha (*butsu=fo*) is no other than the Mind (*hsin*). Let them then inquire what this Mind is. It is required of them to ask where this Mind originates that practises the Nembutsu. It is also required of them to have an intimate sight of the one who does this seeing. After all who is this one? The practisers of the Nembutsu ought to have an illuminating understanding as regards this point. If otherwise, let them not seek for anything specifically mystifying. Nor need they flee from noise and confusion and shelter themselves in quietude. What is needed of them is to sweepingly clear themselves of all the learning, all the understanding they have acquired in their course of life, and to devote themselves single-mindedly to the holding-up of one phrase "Namu-amida-butsu" (*nan-wu-o-mi-t' o-fo*).

"*Nan-wu-o-mi-t' o-fo*—who is this one who practises the Nembutsu? Who is the one who does this inquiring? It is asked of you to look into the matter quietly and steadily, without letting it slip off your mind with no interruption. Go on like this in quietude, go on like this in noisy places. Let quietude and confusion come and go as they please, only your thought be resolutely and immovably applied to the object in view, and this without allowing yourselves to be interrupted. This is what I call the good practising of the Nembutsu. When you thus firmly hold on and not let your thought slide back, you will one day unexpectedly experience a state of great *satori*, owing to long accumulation of energy. You will then realise that there is no falsehood in the teaching that one's birth in the Pure Land is to be sought by means of the Nembutsu."

4. Yen-shou (延壽, 904-975), of Yung-ming Ssü, is honoured as the sixth patriarch of the Jōdo teaching. He was a great Zen master and the author of the *Tsung-ching Lu* in one hundred fascicles and many other works. The following fourfold "reflection" or "consideration" sums up Yen-

shou's critical judgment over the relative merit of Zen and Jōdo in the attainment of the end of the Buddhist life. It is made very much of by adherents of the Jōdo in China.

"1. When Zen alone is practised without Jōdo,¹ nine out of ten are sure to fail [in the attainment of the end]; when visions of various kinds assail [the practiser], he will be carried away without a moment's deliberation.

"2. When Jōdo alone is practised without Zen, every one of the ten thousand will do well; for he will surely see Amida, and is this not enough even if he is not able to have *satori* (*wu*) ?

"3. When Zen and Jōdo go hand in hand, it is like the tiger furnished with a pair of horns. While in this world he is teacher of mankind; in the life to come he will even be a Buddha or a Patriarch.

"4. When a man has neither Zen nor Jōdo, he is destined for hell where the iron-bed and the bronze-pillow await him. For ever so many lives through tens of thousands of kalpas, there will be no one who will be of help to him."

5. Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Seishi in Japanese, and Shih-chih in Chinese), together with Avalokiteśvara (Kwannon, Kuan-yin), is one of the attendant-Bodhisattvas to Amida. He is not so well-known as Kwannon, but one of the important figures in the Pantheon of the Mahayana Bodhisattvas. He stands for wisdom as Kwannon does for mercy. According to the *Sutra of Meditations* (*Kwangyō*=*Kuan Wu-liang-shou Ching*), his body shines out in the colour of pure gold all over the world, which can be seen by anybody so qualified as to see him. When a ray issuing from one of the pores of his skin is seen, all the rays of light pure and undefiled issuing from all the innumerable Buddhas in the ten quarters will be seen. Hence this Bodhisattva is called Infinite Light. With the light of wisdom (*jñāna*) he illumines all beings

¹ That is, *ching-t'u*=Pure Land, meaning the practice of the Nembutsu.

and keeps them away from the threefold path. He has this unsurpassed power and for this reason he is known as Attainer of Great Energy.

"Mahāsthāmaprāpta, son of the Dharma-king, with his fifty-two Bodhisattva-friends rose from his seat, and after prostrating himself at the feet of the Buddha, said: As I think of my past lives, there was a Buddha called Infinite Light in a kalpa as far back as the sands of the Gangā. After him twelve Tathāgatas followed one after another in the same kalpa, the last of whom was called One Whose Light Surpassed That of the Sun and the Moon. It was under this Buddha that I was taught in the Nembutsu (*nien-fo*) Samādhi.

"It is like this. Suppose there were two persons one of whom was good in memory, while the other was forgetful all the time. If they happened to meet, it would be as if they never met; if they saw each other it would be as if they never saw. If, however, both of them were good in memory and each thought of the other deeply and sincerely, they would throughout their long and successive lives be like object and its shadow and would not be turning away one from the other.

"All the Tathāgatas in the ten quarters think of all beings as the mother does of her children. If the child runs away from its mother, what is the use of her thinking of it? If the child thinks of the mother as much as she does of the child, they will never be kept apart throughout their successive lives.

"When all beings remember the Buddha and fix their thought on him, they will surely see him not only in this life but in that to come; they will not be kept away from him; and, without resorting to any specific means, their minds will by themselves open [to the Dharma]. It is like a person steeped in a sweet scent, the scent radiates from his body; this is known as 'decorating oneself with scented rays.'

“Originally while at the disciplinary stage, I entered into the Kshānti of No-birth (*anutpattikadharmakshānti*) by means of the Nembutsu-mind. Now in this world, I will take in all the people devoting themselves to the Nembutsu and make them return to the Land of Purity. The Buddha asks me about ‘perfect interfusion,’ but I have no choice. The main thing is to hold all our six senses together under control and by making pure thoughts succeed one after another enter into a state of Samādhi.”

A commentator adds: “That this Bodhisattva embraces all beings by means of the teaching of the Nembutsu and leads them to the Land of Purity, is in perfect accord with the disposition of all beings. When they are disciplined in this they are all enabled to attain deliverance. This Samādhi is known as the king of all Samādhis, because it holds in it all the Samādhis. Only it is required of them that they should keep their pure thoughts succeeding one after another without an interruption of even one moment given to the five worldly desires. This is the way to collect thought.

“Let your mouth repeat the Nembutsu, let your mind think of the Buddha, and let your ears and eyes exclusively and concentrately abide in the Buddha-field; and when your eyes see nothing else but the Buddha’s form, your ears listen to nothing else but the Buddha’s voice, and your body stands against nothing else but the Buddha’s field—when your Nembutsu comes to this, you are not far away from the Buddha. When the child is always thinking of its mother, mother and child will see each other throughout their successive lives. In a similar way, your mind now without resorting to any other means will open by itself and most assuredly see the Buddha.

“Of these six senses, the principal one is the manovijñāna (mind). When the manovijñāna becomes thoroughly pure, all the other senses are controlled by it, and no special regards are to be paid to any one sense. While practising the Nembutsu, your eyes are not to fall on form, but let

them carry on the Nembutsu; . . . your mind is not to seek for any attachment, but let it be the Nembutsu itself.

"When you thus apply yourself to the Nembutsu in your daily life, thinking only of Amida and desiring the Pure Land, constantly and uninterruptedly, this is called making pure thoughts succeed one after another. Such is the teaching directly in accord with the fundamental nature of the Mind; and as it surpasses all other teachings, it is the foremost teaching."

6. The following story is also quoted from *The Lêng-yen Sutra* (*Śūraṅgama-sūtra*). I cannot surmise the motive of the compiler of the *Ch'an-mên Jih-k'ê* (*Daily Reciter of the Zen Monastery*) who has this particular entry in his work instead of the other stories in the Sutra, which are also equally available for Zen followers. It is interesting, however, to make it relate to the practical and social phase of Chinese mentality. While evidently the author of the story bases his conduct on an abstract metaphysical principle, would it be possible that the *Jih-k'ê* compiler thought only of its pragmatic bearing on the life of his Buddhist friends?

"The Bodhisattva Ch'ih-ti (Dharaṇidhara) then rose from his seat, and, after prostrating himself at the feet of the Buddha, said to him: I recall my having been a Bhikshu in my past lives when the Tathāgata P'u-kuang (Samanta-prabhasa) appeared in the world. Wherever I found the highways and the passages to the rivers too narrow or too steep or not so well constructed as they ought to be and causing damage to the carriages and horses, I levelled down the ground, or filled up the hollows; I also built bridges of all kinds; I carried sands and earth. I thus worked and laboured very hard, seeing [in the meantime] innumerable Buddhas appear in the world one after another. When I saw people carrying loads of luggage through the congested places, I helped them as far as their destination. The luggage was then set down for them, and I left them without demanding any price for [the labour].

"When the Buddha Viśvabhuk appeared in the world, there was a famine and people suffered much. I became a carrier, and carried things for people, and regardless of the distance I charged them just one cent. When I saw carriages and oxen deeply sunk in the mud, I exercised my supernatural powers and extricated the wheels from being entirely submerged. When the king of the time invited the Buddha to a meal, I made the ground even for the Buddha. The Buddha Viśvabhuk stroked me on the head and said: 'You should make your own mind-ground even. When it is even, all the grounds in the world will be even.'

"My mind then opened and saw that the dust (*aṇuraja*) making up my body was the same with the dust which went into the composition of every part of the world, and that between the two there was no difference whatever. Further I saw that this dust was in its self-nature not a real and tangible object, nor could it be touched by any arms. I had an insight into the nature of the Dharma and attained the Kshānti of No-birth, becoming an Arhat. Turning the mind towards [the Mahayana] I am now in the order of the Bodhisattva; and listening to the sermons of all the Tathāgatas in regard to the ground where the Buddha's intuition rises as told in the *Puṇḍarīka*, I was the first one who testified to it; I stand at the head of all the Bodhisattvas.

"The Buddha asks us about 'perfect interfusion.' I consider this to be the first approach to the attainment of supreme enlightenment. To have an insight into the truth that between the dust making up this body and the dust entering into the composition of the world there is no difference, and that the idea of dust rises falsely from the Tathāgata-garbha, and that when the dust dissolves knowledge (*prajñā*) is perfected."

DAISETZ TETTARŌ SUZUKI

THE BACKGROUND AND EARLY USE OF THE BUDDHA-KSETRA CONCEPT

CHAPTER II.

THE FIELD IN THE BODHISATTVA-CAREER

- A. A BUDDHA'S FUNCTION IN HIS FIELD.
- B. HOW HE OBTAINS HIS FIELD—ITS PLACE
IN HIS CAREER.

- i. *As the place where he pursues his career.*
- ii. *As the Ideal Goal of his career.*
- iii. *Meaning of "Purifying the Field."*

In the preceding chapter we considered the background of the notion of a Buddha's-field. We tried to discover what ideas lay behind the development of such a concept, and particularly what ideas about Buddha's relation to the cosmos seem likely to have led up to the three types of Buddha-field which appear in Buddhaghosa.

We saw that these three types¹ really involved but two different conceptions of Buddha's relation to the universe:² the abstract conception of (the) Buddha as knower of the whole cosmos (embodied in the notion of his infinite *visaya-khetta*), and the concrete and personal conception of (a) Buddha as exercising authority and influence over a certain range of world-systems (embodied in the *jāti*- and *āṇā-khetta*s.)

We found that the former conception had its roots in the earliest Buddhist thought. We found a good many ideas in earlier Hīnayāna literature dealing in some ways with Buddha's knowledge of the world expressed in such terms

¹ See page 216(18).

² See page 241(43).

as Buddha's *visaya* and *gocara*, and in the early-argued doctrine of his omniscience. But the background of the idea of his specifically and spatially limited magic influence and authority was much more difficult to discover. We did find in the *Jātaka* rather well-developed notions of Buddha's magical beneficent influence (at the time of his birth, especially) : but in the early scriptures only the barest rudiments of this sort of thought could be found—in the ideas of the *parittās*—and even in the *Jātaka* there seemed to be little if any notion of *spatial limitation* of this influence, or any concept of Buddha's *sovereignty* over any *particular* area.

For the history of these ideas of Buddha's *particular local sovereignty* we shall have to go beyond Hīnayāna backgrounds, for the forces at work in the development of such ideas are the forces which produced the Greater Vehicle; they cannot be understood from within Hīnayāna tradition alone. We have already referred to one factor in this development—the extension of the cosmos. There was no need to mark out limits to Buddha's influence when the universe was thought of as comprising only one, or ten-thousand, world-systems, and when there was thought to be only one Buddha at a time. But the growing elaboration and multiplication of the universe must have contributed to the rise of belief in many contemporaneous Buddhas, and consequently to the necessity of limiting the range of influence of each one. This development concerned Buddha's relationship to the physical universe, but the Buddha field as we shall see it in typical Mahāyāna scriptures is far more than a certain unit of worlds. It is a way of expressing the relationship of a Buddha or future-Buddha to the creatures he has undertaken to lead to maturity. Its background can be understood only by going deeper than cosmology as well as beyond the confines of the Lesser Vehicle and investigating the roots of the concept of a Buddha's sovereignty over his particular world in his (ethical) relationship to the *world of creatures*.

In the course of this search we must ask three questions:

A. How is a Buddha's function or position in his field conceived in Mahāyāna thought? What does his authority entail? What is he there for?

B. How does each future Buddha acquire such a position? What part does the field play in his career as a Bodhisattva?

C. How did the notion of such a position and such a duty in relation to creatures, arise in the history of Buddhist thought?

We shall try to deal with the first two of these questions in the present Chapter (II). The third chapter will be devoted to an attempt to answer the third question.

We shall find that a full answer to the first question will grow out of what we discover in trying to answer the second, but we may at the outset try to get at least a preliminary picture of the way in which a Buddha's relation to his field—the *creatures* in his field—was conceived by early Mahāyāna Buddhists. As we go on, this picture will be enlarged and filled in by what we learn about what a Bodhisattva had to do in order to become a Buddha in a field.

A. A BUDDHA'S FUNCTION IN HIS FIELD.

A Buddha's primary function is *teaching the creatures in his Buddha-field*, according to the *Lotus* and *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and *Sukhāvatī-Vyūha* and other representative Mahāyāna scriptures. His characteristic activity is *preaching the Dharma*, helping others to reach enlightenment. One of his most familiar epithets is *lokanāyaka*, guide of the world; he is frequently spoken of as "*teacher of gods and men*"¹ (*devānāṃ manuṣyāṇāṃ ca nātha*, or *śāstā*).

When the 18,000 Buddha-fields are illuminated by a ray of light from the Blessed One's *urṇākośa*, in one of those cosmic apocalypses so characteristic of the *Lotus*, *Buddhas*

¹ This phrase is familiar in Pali—e.g. *Āṅguttara*, i. 151. For its Skt use see *Lotus* 65 l. 6—*passim*.

preaching the Dharma¹ are seen in all the Buddha-fields. Maitreya, in wonder at the spectacle, observes "how the 18,000 Buddha-fields appear variegated, beautiful, extremely beautiful, having Tathāgatas as their leaders, Tathāgatas as their guides."²

According to the *Lotus*,³ these fields over which the Buddhas preside fill the whole realm of existence "down to the great Hell Avīci and to the limits of being (*bhavāgra*)."⁴ They are inhabited by creatures in all the six gatis or states of existence,⁵ but among their inhabitants the *Lotus* men-

¹ *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* 6, l. 11: "And whatever Buddhas, Blessed Ones, in those fields stay, remain, tarry, they all became visible, and the dharma preached by them could be heard in entirety by all beings."

Gāthās p. 9, § 7: "I see also the Buddhas, those king-lions; revealing, they analyse the Dharma, comforting(?) many koṭis of creatures and emitting sweet-sounding voices."

8: "They emit, each in his own field, a deep, sublime wonderful voice while proclaiming this Buddha-dharma by means of myriads of koṭis of illustrations and proofs." Cf. Gāthā 76: "After rousing and stimulating many Bodhisattvas," etc.

² Ibid. p. 8, l. 7. Tathāgatapūrvamgamāni, Tathāgatapariṇāyākāni (tr. p. 9).

³ P. 6, line u (tr. p. 7).

⁴ For discussion of *bhavāgra*, see *Abhidharmakośa*, viii, p. 75.

⁵ ye ca teṣu buddhakṣetreṣu ṣaṭsu gatiṣu sattvāḥ saṃvidyante sma (p. 6, line 9). Elsewhere, however, even in this same text, in other descriptions of the Buddha-kṣetra it is as definitely asserted that the "field" is devoid of hells and the lower states of being. See especially Ch. VI, tr. p. 148: "His Buddha-field will be.....free from beings of the brute creation, hell, and the host of demons."

Ch. VIII, Gāthā 19: "No womankind shall be there, nor fear of the places of punishment or of dismal states." For other expressions of this paradisaical conception of the field see *Sukh.*, esp. § 18, 19, 20, 24.

This contradiction illustrates two diverse ways of conceiving the Buddha-field. According to one, it is a sort of ideal world characterised by marvelous adornments in its physical landscape and by ideal qualities in its inhabitants; according to the other, each Buddha-field is simply one of the myriads of worlds of which this universe is composed. As such it is practically synonymous with lokadhātu, or a certain aggregate of lokadhātus, and naturally includes all conditions of being. As this Sāhā-world with its hells and animal-rebirth is the Buddha-field of Śākyamuni, so other worlds with their hells and six gatis are the fields of other Buddhas. This conception is expressed in *Śikṣ.* (325, tr. 290): "Whatever hells there are in the infinite fields of the Buddhas...."

tions especially "bhikṣus, bhikṣuṇīs, male and female lay-disciples, Yogins, those who have obtained the fruition (of the Brahmācaryā) and those who have not yet obtained the fruition." There seem to be also Buddhas who have entered into Nirvāṇa (perhaps Pratyekabuddhas?) and stūpas containing their relics! The most important inhabitants of the Buddha-fields are the *Bodhisattvas* who pursue their Bodhisattva-career under the guidance of some "Jina."¹

They are called the "jewel-adornments" of his field.² To them he preaches his most profound sermons; for them he produces those miraculous illuminations and shakings of Buddha-fields, with rains of celestial flowers, which are the and also in *Sukhāvatī* § 39, p. 60, line 2 ff. (tr. 60): "Whatever black mountains, Merus, great Merus.....etc.....(which are specifically excluded in most descriptions of the Buddha-kṣetra) exist everywhere in hundred thousand koṭis of Buddha-fields....." For a philosophical answer to the problem raised by this contradiction see end of Chapter VI.

¹ *Lotus* I, gāthā 13: "I see in many fields what Bodhisattvas (many) as the sand of the river Ganges, many thousands of koṭis (of them) are producing enlightenment by various energy."

Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā (German tr. p. 137): The Bodhisattvas say, "We wish to hear this *Prajñāpāramitā* in detail from the Tathāgata.....Akṣobhya, and from these beings following the Bodhisattva-yāna who in this Buddha-field live the Brahma-caryā."

² Subhūti's vyākaraṇa (*Lotus* VI, gāthā 21) "In (that field) will be many Bodhisattvas to turn the wheel that cannot be turned back; endowed with keen faculties they will under that Gīna, be the ornaments of that Buddha-field." Cf. gāthā 29 of the same chapter Mahākātyāyana's vyākaraṇa.

Cf. Śāriputra's vyākaraṇa (tr. p. 66-67): "The Bodhisattvas of a Buddha-field...are called ratnas, and at that time there will be many Bodhisattvas in that lokadhātu (=Buddha-kṣetra; see p. 65, line 8-9) called 'Viraja'-innumerable, incalculable, inconceivable, unparallelled, immeasurable, indeed surpassing computation except by Tathāgata-computation (66, line 4)...."

"Now further at that time the Bodhisattvas in that Buddha-field shall become stepping upon jewel-lotuses. And not performers of duty for the first time (anādikarmikās) shall those Bodhisattvas be; having roots of merit collected through a long period and having followed the Brahma-caryā under many hundred thousands of Buddhas they are praised by the Tathāgata, intent upon Buddha-knowledge, skilled in all leading to (or by) dharma, gentle, mindful, of Bodhisattvas of such a sort shall that Buddha-field be full." (66, 1. 10).

preludes to a particularly important Dharma-Exposition.¹ For the sake of their enlightenment² he uses his magic power (*anubhāva*)³ to enable them to go from field to field to worship various Buddhas. Even this passive function of the Buddha in his field—*being worshipped* by the Bodhisattvas—has its chief meaning in its fruits⁴ for the Bodhisattvas' enlightenment.

So we see that all of the Buddhas' activities in their fields are phases of their function as *teachers*: teachers of all beings but particularly of the Bodhisattvas. The fields and even the Buddhas themselves seem to exist primarily for the sake of the Bodhisattvas, rather than for the Buddhas! Since most Mahāyāna treatises were written not for perfect Buddhas but for creatures still "on the way" it is

¹ For this use of the Buddha-fields see Ch. IV.

² Often we read of the relation between a Buddha and the Bodhisattvas in his field being quite personal—as in *Lotus XIV*, gāthās 36 ff. "These Bodhisattvas....so innumerable, incomparable, etc., have I roused excited....fully developed to supreme perfect enlightenment after my having arrived at perfect Sambodhi in this world. I have....perfected these kulaputrā in their Bodhisattvaship."

38: "It is I who have brought them to maturity for bodhi, and it is in my field that they have their abodes; by me alone have they been brought to maturity; these Bodhisattva are my sons."

It is in the *Sukhāvatī* that this relation is developed par excellence in the personal relationships between Amitābha and the Bodhisattvas in his field.

³ *Sukh.* § 8, gāthā 21, p. 16; and § 37, p. 57: "What Bodhisattvas are born in that Buddha-field, they all by (?) one morning meal having gone to other world-systems reverence many hundred-thousand niyutas of kotis of Buddhas as many as they desire by the magic power of the Buddhas." Cf. *Lotus XII*, p. 271, l. 4, where the Bodhisattvas declare their intention of preaching by the *anubhāva* just of the Blessed One having gone in all directions, (when the Tathāgata is parinirvṛta).

Even the *adhiṣṭhāna*-magic power of the Buddhas in *Lalitā Vistara*, as we shall see, is exerted for the sake of enlightening creatures. Note the protection supposed to be exercised over young preachers by the Blessed One, *Lotus XIII*, 271, l. 4. where they are said to be *anyalokadhātusthitaisca tathāgatair avalokitāśca adhiṣṭhitāśca*. Cf. X, 231, l. 1: *bhagavāms ca asmākam anyalokadhātusthito rakṣāvaraṇaguptiṃ kariṣyati*.

⁴ See below, p. 402(72) ff.

not surprising to find the Buddha-kṣetra spoken of mainly from the Bodhisattva's point of view.

B. HOW HE OBTAINS HIS FIELD—ITS PLACE IN HIS CAREER

i. *As the Place Where he Pursues his Career*

To the Bodhisattva a Buddha-field is first of all the place in which he strives upward on his career toward Buddhahood. We have just seen something of the importance of the Bodhisattvas in the field. Conditions there are ideal for progress toward enlightenment:¹ there is no turning back.² Creatures become enlightened after only one more birth.³ Mara the evil one can get no advantage over people there and his following becomes there no longer recognizable.⁴ People in the field, especially the disciples and Bodhisattvas, manifest all sorts of good qualities that aid in their attainment of enlightenment.⁵

ii. *As the Ideal Goal of his Career*

More significant even than as the favourable scene of

¹ The description which follows has been put together in brief from several vyākaraṇas, which should be consulted entire for the atmosphere of supernatural powers attributed to the inhabitants of the future fields.

² *Lotus VI*, p. 155 gāthā 27.

³ *Sukh*, § 8, gāthā 20. See also § 24, p. 44; Whatever beings have ever been born there, or are born there now, or ever will be born there are all firmly attached (*niyatā*) to the Supreme (Truth) (*samyaktve*) up to Nirvāṇa, because there is in that field no occasion or manifestation of two rāsīs, namely of not being firmly attached, or of being attached to falsehood.

⁴ From Kāśyapa's Vyākaraṇa. *Lotus VI*, p. 145 line 2 ff.: na ca tatra Māraḥ pāpiyān avatāraṃ lapyate na ca Māraparṣat prajñāsyate/bhaviṣyati tatra khalu punar Māraś ca Māraparṣadaśca.

⁵ E.g. *Lotus VIII*, gāthas 16–19, (p. 202, line 5 ff.) The Bodhisattvas there are all endowed with great abhijñā and the pratisamvids and are skilled in instructing creatures. See also *ibid. VI*, gāthas 7–8; 21–22; 26–37, and description quoted below p. 390. Pūrṇa's vyākaraṇa. "Their two foods are delight in the Dharma and delight in Dhyāna!"

his career, the Buddha-kṣetra is to the Bodhisattva in the second place the *goal* of his strivings—the *ideal realm* which he must purify during his career and which he hopes to possess when he shall have himself reached Buddhahood.

In the *Lotus* this meaning of the field is uppermost. We find the Buddha-kṣetra mentioned most frequently in connection with prophecies (*vyākaraṇa*) made by the Blessed One concerning the destined Buddhahood of certain Bodhisattvas. When they have finished their Bodhisattva course, he tells them,¹ and have worshipped innumerable Buddhas, they shall at length become thoroughly enlightened and be Tathāgatas, *each in a Buddha-field of his own*. Meanwhile, they must, like Pūrṇa,² be constantly active and energetic in *purifying their own Buddha-fields*, as well as in bringing creatures to maturity.

Such references as to *what must be done about the Buddha-field* during the Bodhisattvas' career, coupled with the frequency with which the field is spoken of in the *future* in such a representative Mahāyāna text as the *Lotus*, show that to the aspiring reader of the Greater Vehicle the Buddha-kṣetra meant far more than a static cosmological-

¹ Thus to the 200 bhikṣus, *Lotus* XX (tr. p. 211): "After accomplishing the Bodhisattva-course and after honouring Buddhas as numerous as the dust atoms of fifty worlds and after acquiring the Saddharma, they shall in their last bodily existence attain Saṃyak Sambodhi at the same instant....in all directions of space in different worlds, each in his own Buddhakṣetra. They shall all become Tathāgatas by name Ratnaketurājas. The arrays and good qualities of their Buddha-fields shall be equal; equal also shall be the number of their audience-assemblies and Bodhisattvas; equal also shall be their complete extinction, and their true Dharma shall last an equal time." Similar vyākaraṇas appear throughout the *Lotus*, e.g. in Kern's tr. III, p. 65 ff; VI 142 ff, 145, 148, 150-151; VII 194 ff; X 206-207, XIII gāthā 66; XVII p. 337. and IX p. 206.

² *Lotus* tr. p. 193: "Constantly and assiduously he shall be instant in *purifying his own Buddha-field* and bringing creatures to maturity....At last after completing such a Bodhisattva-course, at the end of innumerable incalculable aeons, he shall reach supreme, perfect enlightenment; he shall in the world be the Tathāgata called Dharmaprabhāsa...."

geographical unit. It was, rather, a *functional* concept—an ideal to be striven for, to be “purified,” even, as we shall see, to be *produced*.

It played a vital part throughout the Bodhisattva-career. In the very first bhūmi (stage),¹ according to the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, the Bodhisattva arouses his determination (*cittotpāda*) to purify all the (or the whole) Buddha-fields.²

Later in the first bhūmi, according to *Daśabhūmika*, he undertakes ten great aspirations (*praṇidhāna*), the seventh of which is concerned with purification of the field (*Bhūmi* I, JJ, p. 15):

“He makes a seventh great *praṇidhāna* for the purifying of all (or the whole) Buddha-fields, purifying all the fields as one field and one field as the assembly of fields, adorned with the decorations of the array of the splendour of the immeasurable Buddha-fields, provided with the Way thoroughly purified by removal of all kleśas, filled with beings who are mines of wisdom, having association with the lofty Buddha-*viśaya*, for the sake of delighting the sight of all beings according to their dispositions.”

In other texts the whole *praṇidhāna* (not merely a few sections of it, as in *Daśabhūmika*) is concerned with the Buddha-field—with the Bodhisattva’s determination to purify it, and to be sure that it and its inhabitants shall be possessed of certain qualities. We shall look at some of these in a moment, after we have finished outlining briefly

¹ Many treatises for the Bodhisattva divide the career into stages or bhūmis. The usual number is ten, but see ch. VI of Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Skt. Literature*, (“The Bhūmis”) for evidence of a prior seven-bhūmi scheme.

² *Daś.* I, SS p. 11: This thought arises on the part of the Bodhisattva—unto yearning for the Buddha-knowledge, approaching the ten powers, unto attaining great self-confidence, unto grasping the equality of the Buddha-dharmas, unto saving the whole creation, unto purifying with great pity and compassion, unto going after knowledge without a remnant in the ten direction, unto purifying all the Buddha-fields together with their members and unto confidence in turning the great wheel of the Dharma.

the place of the Buddha-kṣetra in the various stages of the Bodhisattva-career.

Having "made up his mind" and made his resolution, in the first bhūmi, to purify the field, the Bodhisattva is supposed in the later bhūmis to work at actually purifying it. According to *Daśabhūmika*, this duty belongs particularly to the seventh bhūmi;¹ according to *Prajñāpāramitā*, to the eighth;² according to *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṅkāra*, to eighth, ninth and tenth.³

¹ *Daś. VII, B, p. 56*: The Bodhisattva stationed in the seventh *bodhisattva-bhūmi* betakes himself to the immeasurable realm of beings and undertakes (?—*avatarati*—same verb throughout this passage) the duty of the immeasurable Buddhas, Blessed Ones, which consists in maturing and disciplining (or disciplining for maturity) creatures; he betakes himself to the immeasurable world-systems; he undertakes the *purification of the immeasurable field of the immeasurable Buddhas....*"

In VIII, K, p. 67 the Bodhisattva is said to obtain the Bodhisattva-career-power of the Bodhisattva who has climbed unto this (eighth) bhūmi in a manner characterised by immeasurable body-modification and by immeasurable voice-production, knowledge-production, rebirth production, by *immeasurable field-purification*, creature-maturing, Buddha-worship, awaking to the Dharmakāya....by immeasurable audience-assembly-modification-production...." etc.

² See Dayal p. 277. The bhūmis are described in pp. 1454-1473 of *Praj. Pā Śat*.

³ *MSAL. XVIII. 48 Comm.*—Classification of the practice (making to become [*bhāvanā*]), of the Samyakprahānas (complete abandonments):....for dwelling in the "Signless" (*animitta*—i.e. free from duality) in 7th bhūmi; for obtaining a *vyākaraṇa* in the 8th; for the purifying of creatures in the 9th; for consecration in the 10th; for the sake of *purifying the field in all these three (bhūmis)* and for going to the End (or Goal=*niṣṭhā*) in the Buddha-bhūmi.

Cf. XVIII. 68 Comm. (p. 146): and having based (oneself) on that same triad of bhūmis (8, 9, and 10) *the Buddha-kṣetra must be thoroughly purified* and Buddhahood must be attained.

XIX. 62; Summary of the Mahāyāna: Maturing of creatures from entrance into the bhūmis up to the 7th; *thorough purification of the field* and *apratīṣṭhita Nirvāṇa* in the three-fold non-divertible bhūmi; highest enlightenment in the Buddha-bhūmi. [purified.

XX-XXI. 14 Com. In the 8th,...the Buddha-field is thoroughly

16. Com. In the 8th he is non-differentiating (*upakṣaka*) and purifier of the field because of dwelling in the signless and non-appropriation (*anābhoganirmittavihāritvāt*). See below for discussion of *anābhoga*.

Sometime during his career the Bodhisattva obtains a vyākaraṇa (see p. 386) prophesying his future attainment of Buddhahood, and describing his future Buddha-field in all its glory. The vyākaraṇa includes also prediction of the name of his Kalpa and his own name-to-be as Buddha, description of his disciples and of the Bodhisattvas in his field, and mention of the length of his life-span and that of his Saddharma. (kṣetrōdibhir vyākaraṇam: idrṣe buddha-kṣetre, evaṃnāmā, iyatā kālena buddho bhaviṣyati/evaṃnāmake palpe idrṣaś ca asya parivāro bhaviṣyati/etāvaṇtaram kalam asya saddharma-anuvṛttir bhaviṣyatīti/MSAL. XIX 37 Com.)

According to Asaṅga the Bodhisattva obtains such a prophecy in the *eighth* bhūmi (see note 3, preceding page). After being encouraged by his vyākaraṇa, the Bodhisattva continues to pursue the Bodhisattva career under the leadership of some Tathāgata, worshipping many Buddhas and striving to purify the field, until at last he attains Buddhahood and comes into possession of his own Buddha-field.¹ (Sometimes many Bodhisattvas come to enlightenment at the same time; see foot-note 1, p. 386.)

This field² will be pure, bright, free from stones, sand, gravel, free from holes and steep precipices, free from gutters and sewers, even, lovely, calming and beautiful to be seen, made of lapis lazuli, adorned with jewel-trees,

¹ Thus the sixteen princes of *Lotus VII*, p. 184, line 3 ff: I announce and declare to you, bhikṣus, those sixteen princes, youths, who under the rule of that Blessed One as novices were Dharma-reciters (*bhāṇakā*), they have all become enlightened into unsurpassed supreme enlightenment, and they all now (*etarhi*) stand, tarry, remain, in the ten directions in various Buddha-fields preaching the dharma to many hundreds of thousands of nayutas of koṭis of śrāvakas and Bodhisattvas. To be explicit, in the east, in the loka-dhātu Abhirati, the Tathāgata named Akṣobhya, in the south-eastetc. (in the west—Amitāyus!)

So in *Lotus I*, gāthā 88: Varaprabha's pupils after worshipping many Buddhas "having pursued the course, then in due order (*ānulomikīm*) became Buddhas in many world-systems."

² *Lotus VI*, p. 144, l. 9; p. 145, l. 2 ff.

fastened in a checkerboard marked off with gold threads, covered with flowers....

The typical Buddha-kṣetra is usually described in this way, but the descriptions in the various vyākaraṇas in the *Lotus* add certain specifications to those listed above. Śāriputra's field¹ is to be even, lovely, calming, supremely beautiful to see, thoroughly purified; prosperous,² thriving, giving security, having abundant food, filled with many folk and throngs of men and filled with gods, etc.... and in those checkerboards there shall jewel-trees ever and always filled with flowers of the seven precious objects. Pūrṇa's field is to be even,³ become like the palm of the hand, made of the seven jewels, free from mountains, filled with high edifices made of the seven jewels. There shall be palaces of the gods stationed in the air; gods on their part will behold men and men will likewise behold gods. At that time this Buddha-field shall be free from places of punishment, free from womankind. And all those beings shall come into existence by "apparitional birth"; they shall be followers of the Brahmācaryā, having their own light by their self-essences made of mind, possessed of magic powers, traversing the sky, energetic, mindful, wise, having gold-coloured forms adorned with the thirty-two marks of a great man.⁴

Now that must the future Buddha do in order to obtain Buddhahood and the possession of a "pure" field of such a sort? We have seen that his activities referent to the Buddha-kṣetra in the course of the Bodhisattva-career were almost entirely concerned with his obligation to "purify" it. What does this "*purification of the Buddha-field*" mean?

¹ *Lotus* III, p. 65, l. 9 ff.

² *Sphotam*—so Kern translates. The word does not appear in Böhrtlingk-Roth.

³ *Lotus* VIII, p. 202, line 2 ff.

⁴ See also XI, p. 231 of tr. for description of an apocalypse in which the Buddha-fields are described almost exactly like stūpas; decked with strings of cloths, covered with canopies, etc.!

iii. *Meaning of Purifying the Field*

We find in the main two interpretations of this "purification" in Mahāyāna scriptures. One is predominantly intellectual and defines purification of the field in terms of *purifying one's mind*—from selfishness and particularly from false differentiations. This interpretation we shall find represented most completely in Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṃkāra*. The other interpretation defines purification largely in terms of action (though *motive* also is given an important place), making the purity of the future field depend on the *Bodhisattva's efforts in behalf of the enlightenment of creatures*. We shall find this view represented particularly in the texts assembled by Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.¹ Asaṅga interprets purification in intellectual terms because in his system there is nothing to be purified except the mind,—all things being "originally pure." It is our false distinction-making, our dualisms of subject vs. object, self vs. others, which prevent us from realising the true natural purity of Tathatā.² Purification consists in removing these "obstructions."³

¹ A combination of the ethical and intellectual interpretations is to be found in Vasubandhu's *Vijñaptimātratā Siddhi*, where a "pure field" is said to be produced by the maturing of the results of a Bodhisattva's efforts toward his own Buddhahood or creatures' welfare, but this development into a "pure field" is set forth in the psychological terms of the vijñānavāda. See quotations from the *Siddhi* on third page of Appendix B—*The Trinity and the Field*.

² Asaṅga's expression of such view reminds us that he was a Brahmin before he became a Buddhist!

³ Which are usually classified as of two kinds—moral and intellectual: kleśa- and jñeyāvaraṇas.

For the meaning of purification in terms of over-coming duality see *MSAL* VII. 2 where dhyāna is said to arrive at being *suviśuddham* by virtue of taking hold of *niṣkalpanājjñāna* (non-discriminating understanding);

XIV. 32 referring to thoroughly purified understanding which has the artha of non-duality (or "non-duality as its object");

XVI. 16 Com. "non-discriminated knowledge" is listed as a way to receive the immediate presence (*pratyaवेकषाṇatā*) of 3-cycle-purification.

“As the clouds are obstructions of the rays of the sun, so the perversity of creatures is an obstruction of the Buddha-knowledges.” (*MSAL IX. 34*)

Buddhatā=Tathatā. It is universally present in the multitude of creatures as space is universal in the multitude of forms (*MSAL IX. 15*). So attainment of Buddhahood means realisation of non-duality—purification of the mind from false distinction-making. And purification of the Buddha-kṣetra seems generally in Asaṅga to mean exactly the same thing! The process of purifying the field seems to be identified with what the Bodhisattva does towards his own Buddhahood.

Purifying the Buddha-dharma and purifying the Buddha-kṣetra seem to be used almost interchangeably, referring to the intellectual side of the Bodhisattva's efforts as contrasted¹ with his maturing of creatures.² It thus becomes

XV. 5 where purification of *karma* is given this same intellectual meaning: “not discriminating the actor, the performance of the act, etc.”

¹ Not as antitheses, but as two different parts of the same career.

² For “attaining a purified field” set off against maturing creatures see XVII. 13: satvān ameyān paripācanāya kṣetrasya śuddhasya ca sādhanāya// Comm.: In this phrase the two-fold kṣetra (is meant)-of devoting oneself to it: immeasurable creatures and a thoroughly purified Buddha-field. Having heard the Dharma, (knowledge derives) from causing it to be established in them (the creatures), and by being (oneself) stationed in it (the field).

iti dvididham kṣetram tatsevāyāh/ aprameyāśca satvāḥ pariśuddham ca buddhakṣetram/ dharmam śrutvā yeṣu pratiṣṭhāpanāt/ yatra ca sthītena/

For “purifying the Buddha-dharmas” in a similar pair see XIV. 42-43: On the bhāvanā-mārga in the remaining bhūmis he practices a two-fold knowledge; one, that knowledge which is free from discrimination, is a purifier of the Buddha-dharmas; the other according to the circumstances is a maturer of creatures.

For his purification of himself by “non-discriminating knowledge” see XIII. 29: iti satatamudārayuktavīryo dvayapariṣādanāśodhanesuyuktaḥ/ Paramavimalanirvikalpabuddhyā vrajati so siddhim anutamāṃ krameṇa// With this meaning having eternally lofty applied energy, well-yoked to maturing and purification of the two, by supreme spotless non-differentiated intelligence he proceeds step by step to the highest perfection.

clear that to Asaṅga *purification of the field*, as indeed everything else in his system, means primarily purifying the mind from the obstructions of imagined duality.¹

Vimalakīrtinirdeśa and *Avataṃsaka*, scriptures whose interpretations of field-purification we shall consider next, set forth a similar interpretation of purification of the field, but link it more closely with the maturing of creatures, and the carrying out of the "Perfections" (*dāna*, *śīla*, etc.).

"The Buddha-lands as innumerable as particles of dust
are raised from one thought cherished in the mind
of the Bodhisattva of mercy,
Who, practising meritorious deeds in numberless
kalpas, hath led all beings to the truth;
All the Buddha-Land rise from one's own mind and
have infinite forms,
Sometimes pure, sometimes defiled, they are in various
cycles of enjoyment or suffering...."²

"The sincere mind is the pure land of the Bodhisattva when he shall arrive at full enlightenment, beings who never flatter, will be born in that land."³

iti nirvikalpena dharmanairatmyajñānena pratipattuh pratipattavyasya pratipatteś ca avikalpanā trimaṇḍalapariśuddhir vedī-tavyā/ dvayaparipācanaśodhanēṣu yukta itī satvānām ātmanāś ca/

With this meaning by the non-discriminating knowledge of the non-individuality of dharmas is to be known the non-discriminating three-cycle-purification of producers, of what is produced, and of producing. "Yoked to maturing and purification of the two," it is said, (meaning) of creatures and of himself.

¹ For *purification of the field* interpreted in terms of that "transformation" which transcends the duality of subject vs. object, see IX. 43 and commentary where something of this kind seems to be the meaning: arthaparāvṛttau udgrahaparāvṛttau ca kṣetraviśuddhivibhūtvam paramam labhyate yena yathākāmaṃ bhogaśaṃdarsanam karoti// In object-transformation as in receiver (i.e. subject?) transformation he obtains highest mastery of field-purification, by which he manifests bhoga at will. (Cf. IX. 62 Comm. where the "svābhāvikakāya tena sāmābhogikena kāyena sambaddha" is described almost identically as "a cause for manifesting bhoga as desired in sambhoga—mastery").

² *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. *Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. I, p. 153.

³ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. *The Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. III, p. 61-62.

"The firm mind is the pure land of the Bodhisattva; when he shall arrive at full enlightenment, beings who are endowed with virtues shall be born in that land...."

"Charity (Dāna) is the pure land of the Bodhisattva; when he shall arrive at full enlightenment, beings who are capable of renouncing all will be born in that land."

"Discipline (śīla) is the pure land of the Bodhisattva; when....he shall arrive at full enlightenment, beings who are endowed with the thirty-two excellent features, will be born in that land."

"Patience (kṣānti) is the pure land of the Bodhisattva; when he shall arrive at full enlightenment, beings who are endowed with the thirty-two excellent features, will be born in that land."

"Diligence (vīrya)....Meditation....Wisdom....the Four-fold Immeasurable Mind....the Four Ways of Acceptance....the way of Necessary Means....the thirty-seven Requisites for Attaining Supreme Enlightenment (are the pure land of the Bodhisattva); there in that land he will find neither the three unhappy regions nor the eight misfortunes.... There in that land he will not find even the breach of precepts...."

"Beings who are born in that land will never suffer untimely death, will be abundantly rich, doing good, truthful and sincere, tender in stalk; their families and relatives will never be scattered; they will be skillful in reconciling quarrels, ever benefiting others when speaking; they will never be envious, or angry, but ever maintaining right principles."

"Thus, O Ratnakūṭa, the Bodhisattva with sincere mind begins his work; from this beginning he obtains a firm mind; through the firm mind he becomes a master of his will; with his will mastered he follows the true doctrine; following the true doctrine as he brings himself toward the Mahāyāna; and as a consequence he learns the Necessary Means (upāya); with the Necessary Means he brings all beings to perfection; by this perfection his Buddha-land is purified; as his Buddha-land is purified, his preaching is purified; as his preaching is purified, his mind is purified; as his mind is purified all virtues are purified. Therefore, O Ratnakūṭa, when the Bodhisattva

wishes to obtain a pure field, he should purify his mind, and as his mind is purified, purified is his Buddha-field."¹

The other and more general interpretation of "purification" tends to identify the Bodhisattva's efforts to obtain Buddhahood himself² and to attain a "purified" field, with his efforts to mature creatures. His field is not pure unless he works diligently to bring them to maturity. As we read in *Ratnamegha* (Śiks. tr. 259):

"If the Bodhisattva learns of people's grasping greed and violence, he must not say, 'Away with these people so grasping and violent!' and on that account be depressed and turn back on the others. He makes a vow to have a very pure field in which the very name of such persons shall be not heard.³ And if the Bodhisattva turn his face away from the good of all creatures, his field is not pure and his work is not accomplished. Then the wise Bodhisattva thinks (284), 'Therefore, whatever beings of animal nature may be insignificant, timid, stupid, deaf, dumb by nature, may I meet in my Buddha-field all who in animal form are not behaving so as to attain Nirvāṇa, not cured, rejected by all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; these all I would seat in the bo-tree circle and bring to the knowledge of supreme enlightenment.'"

Similarly in *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (Śikṣ. 153):

*For the obtaining of a thoroughly purified Buddha-field, unto all creatures teacher-affection is decreed.*⁴

Sukhāvataṁbyūha sets forth in some detail the ethics of

¹ See end of Chapter IV for conclusion of this quotation.

² Cf. *Bodhisattva Bhūmi* in *Le Muséon* Vol. 7 (1906) p. 218, where kṣetraviśuddhi is included in a section on the ripening of the "fruit of the purity of practice," showing how the eightfold fruit thus ripened leads to the welfare of others, and for oneself to the "principles" (dharmas) that make a Buddha.

³ This sentence illustrates also a further meaning of purity of the field in terms of the purity of the creatures who shall be there. Cf. *Śikṣ.*, tr. 287: People become pure in body, voice, and mind, in that wonderful field." Cf. *Lotus* VIII. gāthā 18.

⁴ pariśuddhakṣetropapattaye sarvasatveśv śāstṛpremoktam

the Bodhisattva who is trying to bring about the purity of his Buddha-field.¹ (§ 10, p. 25 line 9 ff.)

"He bringing about (*samudānayan*—Cf. *Sukhāvati* p. 27 line 10) this of such a sort (as described in the *prāṇidhāna* in §8) thorough purity of the Buddha-field, greatness of the Buddha-field, loftiness of the Buddha-field, performing the Bodhisattva-career, for immeasurable, incalculable, inconceivable, incomparable, measureless, innumerable, unspeakable hundreds of thousands of *niyutas* of *koṭis* of years in no way considered a purpose of lust, malice, hurt; in no way did he conceive the *idea* even of lust, malice, hurt...." He was "gentle, charming indeed, and compassionate; pleasant to live with, agreeable, aimable, content, of few wishes, satisfied, retired, not evil, not foolish, not suspicious, not crooked, not wicked, not deceitful, tender, kindly speaking, always zealous, docile in the searching after the pure Law (*śukladharmaparyeṣṭau sunikṣiptadhuraḥ*). And for the good of all beings he recited the great *prāṇidhāna*, showing respect to friends (*kalyāṇa-mitra*), teachers, masters, the Buddha-, Dharma, and Sangha, always girded for the performance of the duties of a Bodhisattva, righteous, gentle, not deceitful, not flattering, virtuous, a leader for the sake of rousing others to perform all good laws (*pūrvamgamah sarvakuśaladharmasamādāpanatāyai*), producing by his activity the ideas of emptiness, causelessness, and purposelessness (*śūnyatānimitta*, etc.), and he was well guarded in his speech."²

(Text p. 26 line 9) "Uninterrupted by himself

¹ Similar ideals are undertaken in association with purification of the field in a *prāṇidhāna* from *Manjuśrī-Buddhakṣetraguṇavyūhā-lampkāra-Sūtra* (Śiks. 14, tr. 15); "No mind of malice and stubbornness, neither envy and grudging, will I cherish from this day until I attain enlightenment. I will practise continence and avoid criminal lusts and imitate the self-restraint and morality of the Buddha." I will remain until the end of the chain of being for one living being's sake. I will purify an immeasurable, inconceivable field.... and I shall entirely purify the deeds of body and speech. Karma of mind will be purified; I am the performer of karma that is not impure (*aśubham*).

² Max Müller's tr. S.B.E. XLIX 2nd part, p. 25.

pursuing the Bodhisattva-career, he himself walked in the perfection of *charity* (*dāna*) and caused others to walk in that very same perfection. Similarly for the other perfections—*morality* (*śīla*), *forbearance* (*kṣānti*), *energy* (*vīrya*), *meditation* (*dhyāna*), *wisdom* (*prajñā*). Roots of merit of such a sort he has accumulated, with which he is endowed, that wheresoever he is reborn, there appear from the earth many hundreds of thousands of niyutas of koṭis of treasures!”

During his pursuance of the Bodhisattva-career he worshipped innumerable Buddhas and gave them all sorts of presents; he established innumerable beings in supreme enlightenment, or in fortunate rebirths in noble families or positions of sovereignty over Jambudvīpa, in the position of cakravartins, lokapālas, and various other kinds of supernatural beings.

The passage just quoted illustrates clearly the idea that a Bodhisattva is to purify his field-to-be by exerting himself to the utmost on behalf of creatures, particularly trying to help to lead them toward Enlightenment or “maturity.” We are not told just *how* it is that such activity produces a “pure field:” we shall have to turn to other scriptures for light on the workings of this “spiritual causation.”

When we formulate the problem in terms of how *action* can affect or produce a *world*, we are immediately reminded of the early Buddhist dictum that *the world is produced by Karma!* We remember the stress laid upon this doctrine in the *Karuṇā-Puṇḍarīka*;¹ it is especially interesting to find in the *Abhidharma Kośa*² a statement to the effect that *the various hells are produced by the karma* of the creatures who are to be reborn there in punishment for that evil karma! The same doctrine, that the merit of creatures determines the nature of the world they are to live in, is expressed in *Aṣṭasāhasrika Prajñā-Pāramitā* (quoted in

¹ See above p. 228(30).

² Tr. L. de la Vallée Poussin, Vol. III, p. 155. Cf. p. 139 and 185, and Vol. IV p. 227.

Śiks. tr. 309): "Alas, these beings have small merit that in their world such waterless forests are known!"

This doctrine of the basis of a world in the karma of its inhabitants is significant for the Buddha-field from two angles—(a) the effect of the *Bodhisattva's merit* in determining directly the nature of his field-to-be, and (b) the effect, if there be any, of the *merit of the creatures* who are to be the denizens of his field. The former idea is familiar in the form of the accepted Hindu belief that celestial sovereignty over some "bright and blessed" heavenly world¹ is obtained as the result of meritorious action on earth. The basis of the latter idea we have just seen illustrated in the statement that the hells are produced by the karma of the wicked who are to dwell there. Does this apply to the Buddha-field? Is it in any sense produced by the merit of its inhabitants other than the Bodhisattva who is to be its ruling Buddha? The interdependence and uniform causality of the whole system of worlds forces us to answer that the conditions of each world must represent a kind of total effect of the karma of its creatures; but it seems out of the question that sinful mortals could ever accumulate sufficient merit to produce the kind of paradises we read about in the *vyākaraṇas*. These super-worlds must be produced by the merit of super-men: How is this logical difficulty to be solved?

The answer is particularly significant for our study. The glories of the field are indeed produced by the merit both of the Bodhisattva and of the other inhabitants, but the way the others get sufficient merit to be reborn in a world like that is because the *Bodhisattva transfers his extra merit to them!* His merit, it seems, is thought of not solely as working by itself upon physical nature, (or, in Buddhist

¹ See e.g. *Dīgha* iii, 1, 145 ff. (Dial. Part III, p. 139, 4-p. 167, quoted in Chapter IV; *Sam.* i. 227 (KS I, p. 293-294). For a Mahāyāna version cf. *Lotus* Ch. XVII, gāthā 17, or *Śikṣ.* tr. 287, where it is asserted that by the merit acquired by worshipping the Buddhas, a man becomes Brahmā or Śakra.

terminology, merely purifying the bhājanaloka or "receptacle-world," the karma-produced cosmos which holds the living beings),¹ but as *transferred by the Bodhisattva to the creatures for their well-being*. A Bodhisattva might deliberately "apply" his store of merit to his own enlightenment, if he chose, or to the welfare and development of creatures (or to both).² The Bodhisattva in *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* who recognises how the paucity of creatures' merit brings about the waterless world they must live in, resolves as follows ((after first practising the perfections of dāna, tyāga, śīla, and kṣānti):³

"So will I perform and so bring it about; so will I exert myself unto the purity of the Buddha-field.... that when I have been awakened to supreme, unsurpassed enlightenment, in no way, shape or manner could there be any robber caves,...any waterless forests, etc....in that Buddha-field...."

"So will I *endow all beings with merit* that they shall have most excellent water....etc."

The "purifying" effect of roots of merit when applied to the well-being of creatures is set for in *Daśabhūmika* (Bhūmi VI p. 54, line 14 ff.):

"Those roots of merit of the Bodhisattva stationed in

¹ *Abhidharma Kośa* III, 138. (la Vallée Poussin tr.).

² So *Śikṣā* (348, tr. 307) from *Ratnamegha*: He giving at a Tathāgata's shrine or image a flower or incense or perfume, *applies this* (merit accruing from the gift) so as (a) to annul the wickedness of unsavouriness or dirt of all beings, and (b) to obtain the Tathāgata-quality. Cf. *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (Ch. Vihāra, ed. Rahder with *Daśabhūmika*) p. 10, line 3 ff: "He hears the Dharma from those Tathāgatas, praises, holds it fast, and arrives at perfection in the Dharma through practice according to the Dharma, and applies those roots of merit to great enlightenment and matures creatures by means of the four Saṃgrahavastus. By these *three causes of purification* of his, those roots of merit in greater measure the purified: (1) by taking hold of worship of the Tathāgata, Saṅgha and Dharma, (2) by maturing beings by means of the Saṃgrahavastus, and (3) by applying of roots of merit unto bodhi for many hundreds of thousands of niyutas of koṭis of kalpas."

³ *Śikṣā* 349-350 (Tr. 309).

the sixth, 'Abhimukhi' bhūmi, extinguish the fires of the kleśas of these hundreds of thousands of koṭis of creatures, cool and refresh them, and they become not-to-be-diverted by the four avacaras (realms or spheres) of Māra."

Particularly significant for the relation of the idea of transfer of merit to the Buddha-kṣetra are the Bodhisattva's application of merit toward the *happier rebirth* of creatures, as preached in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. He applies his merit so that creatures may avoid rebirth in hells and in animal-wombs (*Śikṣ* 215, tr. 207; 280, tr. 256-257); so that they may be reborn in heaven or "on the other shore" (*Ibid.* 314. tr. 281); so that they may see and hear the Buddhas (29 ff. tr. 32 ff.) and follow the Dharma when they have heard it.

"How could these roots of good provide life and help for the whole world, ending in the Pure Law, in such a way that through those roots of good there might be for all beings removal of hell and unhappy states; so that by these they could keep away from them the mass of pain which consists in birth as an animal or Yama's world?....

"May this very root of good turn out for purifying the ways of all beings, for purifying their achievements, for purifying their merit and magnanimity....

"By this my root of good may all beings please all the Buddhas....and in the presence of these holy Tathāgatas the supreme Buddhas may they hear the preaching of the Law, and hearing may they put away all errors and may they observe it as heard....

"May they be taught by all the Buddhas...."¹

*Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*² explicitly identifies transfer of merit with purification of the fields:

"Purifying the Buddha-field with these roots of merit, he purifies the self-other-heart-field. What is the

¹ *Vajradhvaṇa Parīṇāmanā*, *Śikṣ*. tr. 32-33.

² Quoted in *Daś*. Introduction, p. xi. (Note the relation between this definition and Asaṅga's in the overcoming of duality between self and other!);

"Yaiḥ kuśalamūlair buddhakṣetram pariśodhayan/ ātmaparacitta-kṣetram pariśodhayati/ teṣāṃ kuśalamūlānāṃ yā parīṇāmanā/ iyaṃ ucyate bodhisattvasya buddhakṣetrāpariśodhanakuśalamūlāvaropana-parīṇāmanā."

turning over to others of these roots of merit, that is called the cultivation and turning over of roots of merit (which constitutes) the Bodhisattva's purifying of the Buddha-field."

These "roots of merit" whose transference¹ seems to play so important a rôle in the development of the Buddha-kṣetra, how are they accumulated? We have seen already how they were gathered by good actions toward creatures,²

¹ The origin of this belief in the possibility of transferring merit, a belief so contrary to the spirit of salvation through one's own efforts alone as taught in primitive Buddhism, is of considerable interest in connection with our study, since the belief is so closely linked to the Buddha-kṣetra concept. Professor Hopkins has written two excellent articles in JRAS (1906) p. 581; 1907 p. 665) on *Modifications of the Karma Doctrine in Hinduism*, suggesting that belief in transfer of merit goes back to ancient ideas much older than Karma, which the Karma-doctrine could not altogether eradicate. Such were the idea of inherited sin in the *Rig Veda*, the idea that a son takes his father's karma (*Kaus. up. ii-15 (10)*), and the belief that a good wife shares the fruit of her husband's acts (*Manu v. 166; ix. 29; Rām. ii. 27. 4-5*).

It is significant to find in the *Āṅguttara* (i. 167) a Brahmin's objection to Gotama's practice on the grounds that it calms only the single self, extinguishes only the single self, so that the Buddhist wanderer is proficient in a *practice of merit that affects only one person* and so is less worthy than the sacrifices of the Brahmins which affect many people through the merit produced! Buddha answers by showing how many people are inspired to imitate the Tathāgata's achievement, by his example and invitation. But the story is significant in showing the kind of objection which will have led to the re-adoption into later Buddhism of the theory of transfer of merit.

In the *Milinda-Pañha* (p. 294) is admitted that certain kinds of Pretas may derive benefit from the gifts of living relatives. And there is one reference (297 line 10) to the transference to others of (the merit of) goods deeds. The Pali word used is *āvaṃjeyya*.

See Dayal p. 188 ff., especially his suggestions pp. 191-192 that the theory of pariṇāmanā grew out of the common Hindu recognition of the fact of human solidarity—that "no man lives to himself, alone"; and out of the developing tenderness of the "Indian heart" which could not endure the thought of suffering and so mitigated the rigors of hell!

² "Creatures" are actually called the Bodhisattva's Buddha-kṣetra in an interesting quotation from *Dharmasaṅgīti* (*Śiks. p. 153*): "The Field of creatures is the Buddha-field of the Bodhisattva; and from this Buddha-field comes his attaining unto grasping of the Buddha-

but as the Mahāyāna developed, more and more stress was laid upon *worship of the Buddhas as the way* par excellence to accumulate merit (see for example, note 1, p. 398 above.) Worshipping the Buddhas is one of the chief activities of the Bodhisattvas in the Buddha-fields,¹ and this worshipping is mentioned in vyākaraṇas as if it were a necessary condition of the realisation of Buddhahood.²

There is a most significant development of thought involved here, the full consideration of which would carry us far out of our field. We can deal with it here only as it affects the technique of obtaining a field.

It seems to be the *giving* aspect of worshipping the Buddhas which is the particular source of *merit*. This indicates that the belief must go back to the old *puṇyakṣetra* doctrine, according to which (as we saw in the introduction)

dharmas (qualities of a Buddha which make him what he is):—
'I should not go astray in reference to it,' and he has this thought:
'Every good act or bad act is unfolded depending on creatures, on the basis of bad conduct there are unfolded evils, on the basis of good conduct gods and men!'

satvakṣetram bodhisattvasya Buddhakṣetram yataśca Buddha-
kṣetrād buddhadharmāṇaṃ lābhāgamo bhavati/ Na arhāmi tasmin
vipratipattum/ evaṃ ca asya bhavati/ sarvaṃ sucaritaṃ duṣcaritaṃ
satvān niśritya pravartate/ duṣcaritāśramāt (this must be a misprint
for āśrayāt) ca pāpāḥ pravartante/ sucaritāśrayāt devamanuṣyā iti//

¹ *Sukh.* § 37 et passim, (*Lotus* passim, esp. tr. p. 8, I, *gāthā* 87 and 88, VIII *gāthā* 23, tr. p. 145); *Raṣṭrapālaperipreṣā* gives effective and poetic expression to this familiar occupation of the Bodhisattvas (but with no connection with the idea of Merit):

"They praise your virtues, the leaders from the range of koṭis of kṣetras at once:

Having heard, the Bodhisattvas go delighted to worship the ocean of (good) qualities,

Having done homage to the beauty of the Sugata, having heard the golden (dharma) of the Great Muni

They go to their own fields delighted in mind at the proclaiming of this your garland of virtues." (p. 5, *gāthās* 9 and 11.)

² e.g. *Lotus* III, *gāthā* 24; *Sukh.* § 44 *gāthā* 3; and see p. 386 ff., above; *Sukh.* p. 71 *gāthā* 3: "It is not possible for low people of lazy views to find delight in the dharmas of the Buddha; those who have performed pūjā in Buddha fields have learned about the careers of the lords of this triple-world!"

certain individuals or groups (especially the Arya Sangha) were "admirable fields of merit" in that gifts to them produced great merit for the donor. This is a thoroughly familiar doctrine in Pali Piṭakas;¹ it is easy to see how, as many influences converged to magnify the person of the Buddha,² he will have been thought of increasingly as the supreme field of merit. Gifts to him (or to *them*, as belief in contemporaneous Buddhas is elaborated:) would be thought of as supremely merit-producing. The *Milinda-Questions*³ reflects discussion of this matter in the query whether gifts made to the extinct Buddha can have any fruit,⁴ and whether *he* may be said in any sense to benefit from them. The decision of Nāgasena is that the Buddha does not benefit, but that the donor does benefit from the gift. This discussion shows that the stūpa-cult must have been well developed at that time, third century B.C., and that the accumulation of merit through giving gifts to the Buddha (perhaps to the Buddhas of past and present) was an established doctrine.

When this doctrine is linked to the Bodhisattva-ideal of applying merit toward one's own enlightenment and toward the happier rebirths and eventual maturity of all creatures, the result is the picture we have been studying in this chapter—Bodhisattvas worshipping Buddhas in many fields, giving them gifts⁵ and so piling up merit, and then applying this merit to their own enlightenment and chiefly

¹ e.g. *Dīgha* iii. 5, 227; *Majjhima* i. 446, iii. 80; *Samyutta* i. 167, 220; v. 343, 382; *Aṅguttara* i. 244; ii. 34, 56, 113; iii. 158, 248, 279 ff., 387; iv. 10 ff., 292. [(*saddhā*).

² See Dayal p. 32 for early importance of faith in the Buddha

³ S.B.E Vol. XXXV, p. 144 (text p. 95, § 10).

⁴ La Vallée Poussin refers to Wassilieff 251, 283 for the arguments of the various schools on this point.

⁵ See e.g. *Sukh.* § 10. tr. p. 26: "So many immeasurable and innumerable holy Buddhas were honoured, revered, esteemed, and worshipped, and enabled to touch whatever causes pleasure, such as cloaks, alms-bowls, couches, seats, refreshments, medicines, and other furniture.... And he collected such virtue that he obtained the command of all necessities, after performing the duties of a Bodhisattva."

to the benefit of others, who will thereby be born where they can hear the name of the Buddhas and become enlightened in one birth. In many of the "Applications" of merit, as we saw in *Śikṣāsamuccaya*,¹ the Bodhisattva applies his roots of merit to further the enlightenment of all creatures everywhere, apparently with no thought of their further relation to him in the future, but in *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Śikṣ.* tr. 308 ff.) and *Sukhāvatīvyūha* it seems to be implied that the beneficiaries of his present meritorious acts (worshipping the Buddhas, following the Perfections, etc.) are to be the creatures in HIS future field!

This is a transition of the greatest significance for the future of the Buddha-kṣetra concept, especially in the Pure Land sects of the Far East, which are outside the purview of this study. It is most instructive to find already in *Sukhāvatī* a confusion between the general Mahāyāna ideal of attaining for oneself a pure field, by means of worshipping the Buddhas, and the special ideal set forth in the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* scripture—*rebirth in Sukhāvatī by worshipping Amitāyus*:

"Amitāyus the Buddha then utters forth: Of old there was this prañidhi of mine: may creatures hear my name and go to my field just for ever.

"And this prañidhi of mine has been fulfilled, auspicious; and beings hither from many world-systems having come quickly, in my presence become non-divertible, having only one more birth.

"Therefore, what Bodhisattva here wishes '*May my field also be of this sort*: may I also release many creatures by name, voice and also by manifestation,'

"Let him speedily hurrying go to the world-system Sukhāvatī, and having gone before Amitaprabhā let him worship thousands of koṭis of Buddhas.

"Having worshipped many koṭis of Buddhas, having gone to many fields by (their) magic power, having per-

¹ Tr. p. 205 ff.

formed pūjā in the presence of the Sugatas, by bhakti they will go to sukhāvatī." (*Sukh.* § 31, gāthās 17-21, pp. 53-54.)

We have considered how a future Buddha attains a pure Buddha-field: how he strives to purify it by freeing his mind from differentiation or by working for the maturity of creatures, and how he applies to their happier rebirths and enlightenment the merits he accumulates by practising the perfections and worshipping the Buddhas.

We are now ready to ask how this ideal of working for others' enlightenment—this twofold picture of the self-sacrificing Bodhisattvas on the one hand, and the Buddhas acting as guides and teachers each to the creatures in his own particular Buddha-field, on the other—developed in the history of Buddhist thought.

CHAPTER III. THE BUDDHA-DUTY

- A. *Background of the Teaching Ideal.*
- B. *Background of the Idea of Each Buddha's Responsibility for a Particular World.*

We saw in the second chapter that a Buddha's function in his field is primarily to guide to enlightenment the Bodhisattvas and other creatures there, after he has obtained a "purified field" by purifying his own mind and helping to "mature" creatures when he was himself a Bodhisattva. The problem now is to investigate the background of this conception of a Buddha's function and position in his field. The problem is twofold.

First, What is the background of the idea of responsibility for teaching others, implied in what we have seen of a Buddha's function in his field?

Second, what is the background of the notion of different Buddhas' *particular local* sovereignty and teaching responsibility, each for the particular world he presides over?

The first question is of considerable significance for the history of the Buddha-kṣetra because each Buddha's characteristic activity as Lord of his Field seems to be the teaching of the Dharma so that it is scarcely possible to conceive of the Buddha-field (as commonly interpreted in Mahāyāna) apart from the teaching ideal. If each Buddha should go into Nirvāṇa immediately after his enlightenment, there could scarcely be a Buddha-field in the sense in which we have seen it predominantly used.¹ Hence it is particularly

¹ In Hīnayāna there might be a purely cosmological idea of the Buddha-field, as simply the world where a Buddha is born and goes into Nirvāṇa, but the concept as we have it used involves a belief that the Buddha is in the world for some purpose beyond his own enlightenment; his field is the place where he carries out this purpose.

important, in our effort to understand the background of this concept, to investigate the background of the ideal of renouncing Nirvāṇa for the sake of leading others to the truth. How far, we must ask, is the idea of a *Buddha-duty* implied in Pali literature, and what is the history of the development of the "Bodhisattva-ideal" of *sharing the Dharma*? It is important to trace this development, and to see how much of a "missionary ideal" is inherent in the early Buddhist picture of the Blessed One, for when belief arose in the existence of many universes and many Buddhas at a time, naturally each Buddha was, at first, presumably thought of as carrying out in *his* aggregate of world-systems the same functions which the single one-at-a-time Buddha performed in the whole one or ten-thousand lokadhātus.

A. *Background of the Teaching Ideal*

The roots of the "missionary ideal" lie farther back in early Buddhism than is often supposed. It was by no means a new ideal developed by the Greater Vehicle alone; its springs lie back among the very sources of the great current of Buddhism which flowed on into the "Bodhisattvayāna," leaving the monastic emphases of the Lesser Vehicle behind as almost a backwash. In the earliest Pali literature, though the self-help doctrine is stressed and Nibbāna is held up as a supreme ideal, *instructing others* is recognised as an important activity of the best of men (*Sutta Nipāta*; § 85-86, text 86-87); § 176 (177); § 212¹ (213); § 232 (233), et al.)

Later Hinayāna literature in spite of its apparent Nirvāṇa-centeredness has preserved a strong conviction that a Buddha himself comes into the world for some purpose other than his own enlightenment; one of the most familiar phrases in the Pali Piṭakas is that characterising a Buddha

¹ This verse really illustrates the monastic trend better than the missionary, for though "leading others" is mentioned, the Muni is spoken of as "wandering solitary!"

or Tathāgata as a person “whose birth into the world is for the welfare of many folk, for the happiness of many folk; who is born out of compassion for the world, for the profit, welfare and happiness of devas and mankind.”¹

We should not be far wrong if we said that a Buddha’s compassion is as essential an element in his make-up as his wisdom or understanding. It is this element of compassion which plays a major part in the development of the Bodhisattva ideal and of the whole Mahāyāna. And it must have been an integral part of the original Buddha out of whose teachings both vehicles grow, for even the Hīnayāna Buddha who appears in the Pali Piṭakas is quite definitely motivated by compassion. It was primarily out of compassion for the world thus he is said² to have decided to preach at all just after his enlightenment, when this heart “inclined to rest quiet and not to preach the Dharma.” Considering the difficulty of the Dharma³ and the stupidity and conservatism of people, he hesitated whether it would be worth while to try to preach the Dharma at all. But Brahmā Sahampati, knowing what was in the Buddha’s mind, thought to himself:

“The world is undone, quite undone, inasmuch as the Tathāgata’s heart inclines to rest quiet and not to preach his Dharma!” so he came beseeching him:

“May it please the Lord, may it please the Blessed

¹ e.g. *Sutra Nipāta* 683; *Āṅguttara*. I. i Ch. XIII—*Gradual Sayings* I, p. 14; I. ii Ch. VI—*Gradual Sayings*, I p. 71.

² *Majjhima* i. 167–168 (*Further Dialogues* I. 119–120).

Vinaya i. Mahāvagga I, 5 (*Vinaya Texts* I. 84–88).

Parallel Version with some variations in *Jātaka—Nidānakathā* tr. p. 111, and *Dīgha* ii. 37–39 (*Dial.* II, 29 ff.)

³ “The Dharma is hard to understand.... abstruse, and only to be perceived by the learned, while mankind.... takes delight.... in what it clings on to, so that for it, being thus minded, it is hard to understand causal relations and the chain of causation—hard to understand the stilling of all saṃskāras, or the renunciation of all worldly ties, and extirpation of craving, passionlessness, peace, and Nirvāṇa. Were I to preach the Dharma, and were not others to understand it, that would be labour and annoyance to me! *Further Dialogues* I. 118.

One, to preach his Dharma! Beings there are whose vision is but little dimmed, who are perishing because they do not hear the Dharma; these will understand it!"

Thereupon Buddha, heeding Brāhma's entreaties and "*moved by compassion for all beings*, surveyed the world with the eye of enlightenment" and "saw that there were indeed some who would understand."

In this story is *implied* the compassion-inspired determination—which lies at the basis of the Bodhisattva ideal—to preach to others instead of going into Nirvāṇa. This ideal is made explicit in a Jātaka story¹ which goes far back into the past to explain the background of this decision of Gotama Buddha's. It tells how, in the time of the first Buddha Dīpaṃkara, the Bodhisattva Sumedha (later to become the Buddha Gotama) explicitly determined to *renounce Nirvāṇa for the sake of helping others* to realise the Dharma and cross the stream of existence:

The story goes that ages ago the wise Sumedha practised great charity and renounced all pleasures and left the world, seeking to enter the deathless and birthless "city of Nirvāṇa," and had actually attained the eight samāpattis and the five abhiññās when the Teacher Dīpaṃkara appeared in the world.

As Dīpaṃkara was on his way to the city of Ramma, Sumedha joyfully threw himself in the mire before him to serve as a bridge, with the thought "this deed will long be for my good and my happiness." As he lay in the mire, beholding the Buddha-majesty of Dīpaṃkara Buddha².... he thought as follows:

"Were I willing, I could enter the city of Ramma as a novice in the priesthood, after having destroyed all human passions; but why should I disguise myself to attain Nirvāṇa, after the destruction of human passion? Let me rather, like Dīpaṃkara, having risen to the supreme knowledge of the Truth (*Parama-abhiśambodhim*) enable mankind to enter the ship of truth (*Dhamma-nāvam*) and so carry them across the Ocean of Existence, and when this is done afterwards

¹ Jātaka Vol. I. *Nidāna Kathā*, p. 10 ff. Rhys Davids' tr. p. 12 ff.

² Who is called lokanāyaka (p. 11)!

attain Nirvāṇa; this indeed it is right that I should do."

Then having enumerated the eight conditions (necessary to the attainment of Buddhahood), and having made the resolution to become a Buddha, he laid himself down. Therefore it is said,

"64. As I lay upon the ground this was the thought of my heart,

If I wished it I might this day destroy within me all human passions,

65. But why should I in disguise arrive at the knowledge of the Truth?

I will obtain omniscience and become a Buddha, and (save) men and angels.

66. Why should I cross the ocean resolute but alone?
I will attain omniscience, and enable men and angels to cross.

67. By this resolution of mine, I a man of resolution
Will attain omniscience, and save men and angels.

68. Cutting off the stream of transmigration, annihilating the three forms of existence,
Embarking in the ship of Truth, I will carry across with me men and angels."

This *Jātaka* tradition, while quite within the limits of Hīnayāna orthodoxy, illustrates how much of the "Bodhi-sattva ideal" was, probably from quite early times, implicit in Buddhist thought and ready to be developed when the need for it arose.

Indeed, this *sharing* emphasis was probably never absent from the popular religion. The lay gospel never laid much emphasis on Nirvāṇa (stressing, instead, *rebirth in heaven*)¹ as we learn from the Rock Edicts of the Emperor Asoka. These edicts are our chief source of knowledge of the lay Buddhism of the period which preceded crystallisation of the Lesser and Greater Vehicles. And they never even *mention* Nirvāṇa! The religion they inculcate is a simple ethical doctrine of truth and non-injury and justice

¹ See Rock Edict VI, V. A. Smith *Asoka* p. 164.

to relations and friends,¹ with a strong *missionary* urge implied in Asoka's diligent efforts to convert others. *Sharing* the Dharma is one of his chief principles; he takes particular pride in sending missionaries all over the world to spread knowledge of the Dharma.²

Asoka's mention³ of gifts to the Sangha, and the tradition⁴ that he himself took the yellow robes in later life, show that monasticism had an important place in the Buddhism of this period, even though the lay gospel is still far from monastic. And monasticism grew. The monks of the Sangha grew in numbers and in influence. This growth is reflected in the *Questions of King Milinda*,⁵ where Nirvāṇa is frequently discussed as the goal of the religious life, where

¹ For himself the king sets a more universal aim (*ibid*): "For the welfare of all folk is what I must work for—and the root of that, again, is in effort and the dispatch of business. And whatsoever exertions I make are for the end that I may discharge my debt to animate beings, and that while I make some happy here, they may in the next world gain heaven." Cf. Pillar Edict VI.

² Cf. Rock Edict XIII (Smith's Asoka p. 173 ff): "Even upon the forest folk in his dominions His Sacred Majesty looks kindly and he seeks their conversion, for (if he did not) repentance would come upon his Sacred Majesty. They are bidden to turn from evil ways that they be not chastised. For His Sacred Majesty desires that all animate beings should have security, self-control, peace of mind, and joyousness.

"And this is the chiefest conquest in the opinion of His.... Majesty—the conquest by the Law of Piety—and this.... has been won by Him, both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as 600 leagues—(then follows an enumeration)...."

Cf. Pillar Edict VII (*ibid*. p. 191): "I will cause the precepts of the Law of Piety to be preached, and with instruction in that Law will I instruct, so that men hearkening thereto may conform, lift themselves up, and mightily grow.... [etc. telling how he has carried out his ideal]...."

³ Cf. Rock Edict VIII—"Dharma-Tours" wherein are practised the visitings of ascetics and Brāhmins, with liberality to them, the *visiting of elders with largest of gold*, etc. See also Sārnāth Edict referring to monks and nuns and a place reserved for the clergy.

⁴ Minor Rock Edict I, V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, p. 147.

⁵ A book probably used by many of the schools, even those tending in Mahāyāna directions, but said to have been regarded with respect by the Hinayānists.

it is asserted that a layman who attains Arhatship must enter the Order at once or die!¹ where laymen are said to be able to attain Nirvāṇa only if they have pursued the monastic vows in some former existence,² etc. In this book the distinction is already made between a complete fully-enlightened Buddha and a Pratyeka-Buddha—one who works for his own enlightenment alone, without thought of leading others “across.”

All these indications of the monks' influence upon the Dharma, emphasizing self-culture and the attainment of Nirvāṇa to the exclusion of any effort to imitate the Buddhas in *preaching* the Dharma, show how one-sided Buddhism was becoming, and make it easy to understand why there had to be a reaction to re-emphasise the missionary spirit. Har Dayal has well pointed out³ that the development of the Bodhisattva doctrine cannot be understood except as a *reaction against excessive monasticism*. We have seen that the implicit Bodhisattva ideal was no new creation of the Greater Vehicle, but a vital part of the original religion. When the monks left it out, other schools in North India corrected the balance by putting it in double measure! There was a special pull for them to re-emphasise Buddha's compassion and desire to help mankind—the attributes which are incarnated in the Bodhisattvas—because contemporary Hindus were developing a similar emphasis in their *bhakti-cults*. There was a great revival of Hinduism in the second century B.C. after the fall of the Mauryas (184 B.C.) in which the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva was becoming more and more popular. Both of these deities were thought to incarnate themselves in order to save mankind. Thus Kṛṣṇa says in the *Bhagavadgītā* IV, 7 and 8, and X, 11:

“Whenever there is decay of dharma, and ascendancy of adharma, then I create myself.

¹ Vol. II, p. 97 (text 265).

² Vol. II, p. 254 (text 353).

³ *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 3.

"For the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, for the sake of establishing the dharma, I become manifest yuga after yuga."

"For the sake of compassion just for them (i.e. only those who worship Me), I stationed in their self-essence destroy the ignorance-born darkness with the luminous lamp of understanding."

It is, however, more in the development of Buddhology than in the development of the Bodhisattva-ethics that we shall find expressions of the *bhakti*-trend. In the growing emphasis upon devoted worship of the Buddha as a God this trend is certainly reflected, but in the Bodhisattva-ideal as an inspiration to *laymen* to work for the enlightenment of others, it seems to me we have a peculiarly Buddhist emphasis. Hinduism never become a *missionary* religion, even though it did worship deities who became incarnate for man's sake.¹ Buddhism on the other hand, had in its original ideal (as we have seen in the earlier part of this chapter) a strong element of compassion and assumption of responsibility for others' enlightenment; and when the need arose it re-emphasised these elements in the form of the concrete model of the Bodhisattva. Lay men and women were supposed to imitate this model, which was much more appealing and practicable for the princes and merchants of North India than the model of a Buddha absorbed in Nirvāṇa. Few of these people who were engaged in the active cosmopolitan life of the Panjab, Kashmir, Bactria, etc.,² had any leaning towards the monastic life, and the

¹ If the Mahāyāna was only a sort of "Hinduised" Buddhism, it is difficult to see whence came the tremendous missionary impulse which carried Buddhism alone of Hindu sects across all Asia as an autonomous religion.

² For this period in Indian history see Rapson, *Ancient India*; Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, and Bactria; Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India* (3rd ed. Oxford, 1914): *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (and II as soon as published); de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux Temps des Mauryas*, (1930).

semi-barbarous invaders from the North certainly were not likely to be converted to a passive religion of leaving the world! The Bodhisattva-ideal, growing naturally out of the lay ethics of Asoka, was admirably suited to meet their needs, just as it later became an inspiring and workable model¹ for the great Japanese prince Shōtoku-Taishi.² And so powerful was this missionary or teaching-ideal which the Mahāyāna re-emphasised (perhaps partly in order to convert various racial groups in North India and beyond)³ that Buddhist missionaries went forth over the mountain passes and carried their faith beyond North India into Turkestan and Tibet and even across Mongolia and the ocean to the Land of the Rising Sun."⁴

*B. Background of the Idea of Each Buddha's
Responsibility for a Particular World*

We have been considering the background of what we called the "missionary" impulse in Buddhism—the impulse of compassion which led each Bodhisattva in turn to renounce Nirvāṇa in order to preach the Dharma—the impulse which developed into the Bodhisattva-ideal and the Greater Vehicle, and without which there could have been no such idea of a Buddha's field as we have been studying. But much more than just a general determination on each Buddha's part to preach the Dharma is pre-supposed in the Buddha-field concept as we have seen it in Mahāyāna scriptures. It involves more especially responsibility for a

¹ As set forth in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*.

² See Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, p. 63.

³ Har Dayal (*Bodhisattva Doctrine* p. 32) makes the interesting point that in this milieu the universality of Buddhism will have been a great asset, in contrast to the close association of Hinduism with national and social "culture-patterns" to such an extent that it could not adapt itself to new needs, as could Buddhism which was not tied up with any particular "culture-pattern."

⁴ But the monastic and non-missionary forms of Buddhism, which differed scarcely at all from common Hindu ways of release, were almost entirely absorbed in India.

particular world. We have already seen something of how a Buddha's relation to his particular world, both before and after his attainment of sovereignty over it, was conceived; now we want to know how he comes to be assigned to one particular world. What are the historical factors in this *localising of responsibility*?

The primary historic fact in this connection must be the rise of belief in the simultaneous existence of several Buddhas. Insofar as this belief was a natural corollary of the enlarging cosmology, the basis is laid right here for the idea of each Buddha's local sovereignty. For just as this world has its Buddha Śākyamuni and constitutes his field, so (when the cosmos had expanded to include many sets of world-systems) each of the myriad other universes has its own Buddha and constitutes his field.¹ "Buddha-kṣetra" then becomes a convenient way of designating the aggregate of world-systems included in such a universe. Sometimes the term is used thus in a purely numerical or cosmological way with complete loss of any association with a Buddha's presence in the field, as in the *Mahāvastu* where we read of Buddha-fields "empty of best of men"²

The belief in simultaneous Buddhas probably grew also out of the possibility of many contemporaneous *Bodhi-sattvas*, and the consequent possibility that more than one might come to enlightenment at the same time. Then, since there cannot be more than one Buddha at a time in any one

¹ This was first made clear to me in a letter from Prof. de la Vallée Poussin.

² *Mahāvastu* i. 121, line 8 ff:

śrūyatām lokānāthānām kṣetram tatvārthanīśritam//
upakṣetram ca vakṣyāmi teṣām paramavādinām/
tāni nīsamya vākyaṇi śasanam ca naravara//
ekaṣaṣṭim trisaṣṭirāṇi buddhakṣetram parikṣitam/
ato caturgunam jñeyam upakṣetram tathāvidham//

Kāśyapa asks if Sambuddhas arise in all Buddha-fields or only in certain ones, and Kātyāyana replies:

kimcid eva bhavaty aparīśūnyam.
kṣetram apratimarūpadhārehi/ (p. 122, 1. 1.)
kṣetrakoṭinayutāni bahūni śūnyakāni puruṣappravarehi//

world-system,¹ they must become Buddhas in different worlds,² and each will have toward his particular world the relationship and responsibility which the one-at-a-time Buddhas had over the whole known cosmos.

We have already seen something of this earlier relationship in the use of such terms as *lokanāyaka* in the Pali literature, "chief of the world" (e.g. *Sutta Nipāta* 995),

¹ *Dīgha* ii. 225 (*Dial.* II. 263): Then answered Sakka, ruler of the gods....: "Nowhere, gentlemen, and at no time is it possible that, in one and the same world-system, two Arahant Buddhas supreme should arise together, neither before nor after the other. This can in no wise be." Cf. *Āṅguttara*. i, XV. 10 p. 27 *Gradual Sayings* I. 26.

² *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (quoted in *Abhidharmakośa* iii, 201 (note 2) has preserved an interesting record of this line of reasoning, attributed to the Mahāsāṃghikas. They observed that many people apply themselves at the same time to the prāṇidhānas and to the pre-requisites of supreme enlightenment (*sambhāras*): so it seems logical to suppose that they might reach enlightenment at the same time. It would not be convenient for several Buddhas to appear at the same time in the same place....but on the other hand nothing prevents several Buddhas appearing at the same time; therefore they appear in different universes." This is the argument summed up in *Kośa* iii, p. 200 but the whole discussion as quoted from *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is interesting:

"tatra prabhūtaiḥ eva kalpāḥ ekatyo 'pi buddhasya prādurbhāvo na bhavati/ ekasminn eva ca kalpā prabhūtānāṃ buddhānāṃ prādurbhāvo bhavati/ teṣu ca teṣu.... dikṣv aprameyāsamkhyeṣu lokadhātūsv aprameyānāṃ eva buddhānāṃ utpādo veditavyaḥ/ tat kasya hetoḥ/ santi daśasu dikṣv aprameyāsamkhyeṣu bodhisattvā ye tulyakālakṛtapraṇidhānāḥ tulyasambhārasamudāgatāḥ ca/ yasminn eva divase pakṣe māse samvatsara ekena bodhisattvena bodhicittam prāṇihitam tasminn eva divase....sarvaiḥ/ yathā caika utsahito ghaṭito vyāvachitaḥ ca tathā sarvāḥ/ tathā hi dhriyante 'sminn eva lokadhātāv anekāni bodhisattvaśatāni yāni tulyakālakṛtapraṇidhānāni tulyadānāni tulyaśīlāni tulyakṣāntīni tulyavīryāni tulyaśamādhīni tulyaprajñāni prāḡ eva daśasu dikṣv anantaparyanteṣu lokadhātūsu/ buddhakṣetrāṇy api trisāhasramahāsāhasrāṇy aprameyāsamkhyeyāni daśasu dikṣu samvidyante/ na ca tulyasambhārasamudāgatayor dvayos tāvād bodhisattvayor ekamīṃ lokadhātāu lokadhātāu buddhakṣetre yugapad utpatyavakāso 'sti, prāḡ evāprameyāsamkhyeyānāṃ/ na ca punas tulyasambhāranāṃ krameṇānuparipāṭikayā utpādo yujyate/ tasmād daśasu dikṣv aprameyāsamkhyeṣu yathāpariśodhiteṣu tathāgataśūnyeṣu te tulyasambhārā bodhisattvā anyonyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu utpadyanta iti veditavyam/

"Lord of the universe" (*Jātaka*, Nidāna Kathā tr. p. 11, gāthā 5), as well as in the familiar phrase "for the welfare of the many," etc.

This "chiefness" probably involved *supremacy*¹ rather than sovereignty, but one would easily shade into the other, and it is easy to see how the familiarity of such concepts in the early literature will have builded naturally into the later picture of each Buddha being chief, guide, and ruler of his world.

It seems to have been originally the *supremacy* or *pre-eminence* of a Buddha (rather than any ethical qualifications) which was taken to explain the non-appearance of two in a single field or world-system;² but in later explanations we can trace growing explicitness of an idea that *a Buddha has a job to perform in his world*:

Thus *Mahāvastu* i. 121:³

¹ *Gradual Sayings*, I, p. 15 (*Aṅguttara* i, p. 22, XIII §5): "Monks, there is one person born into the world who is unique, without a peer, without counterpart, incomparable, unequalled, matchless, unrivalled, best of bipeds he. Who is that one person? It is a Tathāgata who is Arahant, a fully Enlightened One." (This passage is preceded by a paragraph stating that "there is one person in the world whose birth is for the welfare of the many, etc.")

² Two Buddhas could not arise together in one world-system because (1) the world could not support the virtue of two—it would shake and be dispersed, as an overfilled cart....boat....man; (but it is admitted that this argument is adduced to make the power of the Buddhas known!) (2) disputes would arise between their followers leading to two rival parties; (3) the scripture to the effect that Buddha is chief, best of all, without counterpart or rival, etc. would be proved false; (4) the natural characteristic of the Buddhas is that one Buddha only should appear in the world—because of the greatness of the virtue of the *all-knowing* Buddhas. "Of other things, also, whatever is mighty is singular....as....a Tathāgata, an Arhant, a Buddha supreme, is great; and he is alone in the world. Whenever any one of these spring up, then there is no room for a second." *Questions of King Milinda* II, 47 (text 237).

³ Mahākāśyapa asked Mahākātyāyana, "For what cause, for what reason is it that two completely enlightened Buddhas do not arise in one field?" Thus addressed, Mahākātyāyana replied in the following verses:

“What has to be performed by the elephant of men, the *Buddha-karma*, is very hard to perform;
 But this Dharmatā of the Buddhas fulfills all that.
 If he were unable (to perform it), wise (or skilled)
 in the Buddha-Dharmas,
 Then two great-souled Tathāgatas would arise;
 But they cast off (deny) that insufficient nature of
 the great rishis—

Therefore, two bulls-of-men do not arise in one field.”

Practically the same reason is adduced among others in *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (fol. 39, quoted *Kośa* iii. p. 202 ft. note.):

“So in this manner in many Lokadhātus just Buddha-manyness is fitted (or arranged) and there is not simultaneous production of two Tathāgatas in a single Buddha-field. This for what reason?

For a long period, you know, by the Bodhisattvas thus a praṇidhāna is undertaken: “May I alone in a leaderless field be a leader, discipliner of beings, releaser from all sorrows....”

And further, *one Tathāgata* in a triple thousand great chiliocosmic *single Buddha-field* is able to perform all the *Buddha-duty*: Hence the production of a second Tathāgata (would be) just useless.”

This later and somewhat stylised picture of the sovereign Buddha was painted largely after the model of the *Cakravartin* or universal righteous monarch. Inspired originally, perhaps, by the imposing sovereignty of Candragupta and his successors,¹ this ideal of righteous monarchy grew deeply into Indian thought-forms and constituted the pattern for much religious imagery. In Buddhist writings this figure is especially familiar in the tradition about the Mahāpuruṣa or Super-Man, who is marked

yatkāryaṃ naraṇāgena Buddhakarma suduhkaram/
 tatsarvaṃ paripūreti eṣā buddhāna dharmatā//
 asamartho yadi siyāt buddhadharmeṣu cakṣumām/
 tato duve mahātmānau utpadyete tathāgatau//
 taṃ cāsamarthasadbhāvaṃ (emended n. p. 471 to svabhāvaṃ)
 varjayanti maharṣabhaṇau//
 tasmād duve na jāyante ekakṣetre naraṇābhau//

¹ See Beal, *Catena*, p. 129.

by thirty-two characteristic marks, and must become either a Cakravartin or a Buddha. It is extremely significant for the influence of this Cakravartin figure upon the history of the Buddha field concept to find in a description of the Cakravartin's destined realm¹ a passage very suggestive of later descriptions of the Buddha-field:

"He, endowed² with this mark, if he dwell in the House becomes a monarch Cakkavatti (turner of the wheel). Conquering not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by *dhamma*, he doth *preside over this earth* to its ocean bounds, an earth *void of barrenness, pitfalls, or jungle, mighty, prosperous, secure and fortunate, and without blemish (or without mark, animittam!)*."

"And³ if he leave the world, illustrious going forth, He exercises superiority over all creatures;
There is found no greater than he;
Over the whole world having lorded it he lives, 'tis said."

¹ In the famous Suttanta on the Marks of the Superman, tr. in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part III, p. 139 ff. I have come across no passage in Pali more like the typical Sanskrit descriptions of the Buddha-kṣetra than this. The Cakkavatti-Sihanāda-Sutta (*Dīgha* no. XXVI—Vol. iii, p. 75) contains a description of the ideal state of this world under Metteyya (see Appendix D. *The Field In Relation to the Cosmic Cycle*), but this description is not as close to the familiar Sanskrit Buddha-kṣetra description as that quoted from the Lakkhana Suttānta.

² Text (*Dīgha* iii. 1. 146, 5):.....So imam paṭhaviṃ sāgara-pariyantam akhilaṃ animittam akaṇṭakam iddham phitaṃ khemam sivaṃ nirabbudaṃ adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijjiya ajjhāvasati/

³ Ibid. p. 156:

pabbajam pi ca anoma-nikkamo
aggataṃ vajati sabba-pāṇinam
tena uttaritaro na vijjati
sabbam lokam abhibhuyya viharatīti/

This whole Suttānta shows how by building up merit one may attain celestial glory and dominion, etc., in a "bright and blessed world" (Rhys Davids)—more literally a "well-gone heaven-world" (*sugataṃ saggaṃ lokam*).

The ethics demanded in his former lives of one "thus come" (*tathāgata*)—I am not at all sure that this means a Buddha here, for the future-Cakravartin could hardly be referred to as *Tathāgata* in this sense! if he wishes to be a Mahāpuruṣa, are very interesting

Further influence of the Cakravartin model upon Buddhist picturing of their founder is shown clearly in the *Milinda Questions*,¹ where the King asks what is the reason why the Tathāgata is called a king. Nāgasena replies as follows:

"A king means, O king, one who rules and guides the world, and the Blessed One rules in righteousness (*dhammena*)² over the ten thousand world-systems, he guides the whole world with its men and gods, its Māras and Brahmās, and its teachers, whether Samaṇas or Brāhmanas. That is the reason why the Tathāgata is called a king.

"A king means, O king, one who, exalted above all ordinary men, making those related to him rejoice, and (tr. pp. 139-152): (1) carrying out common Hindu morality—keeping festivals, filial duties to parents, honours to recluses and brahmins, etc.; (2) living for the weal of great multitudes, protecting them from fear or danger or need; (3) being compassionate and refraining from taking life; (4) giving food (probably to holy men); (5) being popular with the people through giving, kind speech, wise conduct, impartiality; (6) being "one who spoke to the multitude on their good, on dhamma, explaining to the multitudes, a celebrant of righteousness (*dhamma-yāgi*); (7) being a zealous learner; (8) inquiring about the good; (9) being free from anger....; (10) reuniting separated families.

This is continued in the second chapter of the same Suttānta, ending p. 167 of tr.

Cf. Buddha's story (*Sam.* i. 227 *KS* I. p. 293) of how Sakka, ruler of the gods, attained his celestial sovereignty by carrying out seven rules of conduct when he was a man (note the family basis of this ethics!):

"As long as I live, may I maintain my parents,
As long as I live, may I revere the head of the family,
As long as I live, may I use gentle language,
As long as I live, may I utter no slander;
As long as I live, with a mind rid of stain and selfishness, may I conduct myself in a home with generosity, with clean hands, delighting in renunciation, amenable to petitions, delighting in sharing gifts.
As long as I live, may I speak the truth, not give way to anger, or repress it if it arises. By undertaking and carrying out these rules when he was a human being, Sakka attained his celestial position!"

¹ *The Questions of King Milinda*, II, p. 28 (text 228-227).

² Note how the Buddha is called Dharmarāja in Mahāyāna works—e.g. *Lotus* V, gāthā 1; XIII, gāthā 51.

those opposed to him mourn, raises aloft the Sunshade of Sovranty, of pure and stainless white, with its handle of firm hard wood, and its many hundred ribs, the symbol of his mighty fame and glory. And the Blessed One, O king, making the army of the Evil One, those given over to false doctrine, mourn; filling the hearts of those, among gods or men, devoted to sound doctrine, with joy; raises aloft over the ten thousand world-systems the Sunshade of his Sovranty pure and stainless in the whiteness of emancipation, with its hundreds of ribs fashioned out of the highest wisdom, with its handle firm and strong through long suffering—the symbol of his mighty fame and glory.¹ That too, is the reason why the Tathāgata is called a king.

“A king is one who is held worthy of homage by the multitudes who approach him, who come into his presence. And the Blessed One, O king, is held worthy of homage by multitudes of beings, whether gods or men, who approach him, who come into his presence. That too, is the reason why the Tathāgata is called a king.

“A king is one who, when pleased with a strenuous servant, gladdens his heart by bestowing upon him, at his own good pleasure, any costly gift the officer may choose. And the Blessed One, O king, when pleased with any one who has been strenuous in word or deed or thought, gladdens his heart by bestowing upon him, as a selected gift, the supreme deliverance from all sorrow—far beyond all material gifts. That too is the reason why the Tathāgata is called a king.

“A king is one who censures, fines, or executes the man who transgresses the royal commands. And so, O king, the man who, in shamelessness or discontent, transgresses the command of the Blessed One, as laid down in the rules of his Order, that man, despised, disgraced, and censured, is expelled from the religion of the Conqueror. That too is the reason why the Tathāgata is called a king.

“A king is one who in his turn proclaiming laws and

¹ For use of similar imagery in later works, belonging to the Mahāyāna, Cf. *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā* quoted in *Śūks.* tr. 287 (text 321): The Jinas proclaim thy praise and glory far and wide in all regions over hundreds of fields. 285. (318); With thy glory thou dost illuminate a hundred fields.

regulations according to the instructions laid down in succession by the righteous kings of ancient times, and thus carrying on his rule in righteousness, becomes beloved and dear to the people, desired in the world, and by the force of his righteousness establishes his dynasty long in the land. And the Blessed One, O king, proclaiming in his turn laws and regulations according to the instructions laid down in succession by the Buddhas of ancient times, and thus in righteousness being teacher of the world,—he too is beloved and dear to both gods and men, desired by them, and by the force of his righteousness he makes his religion last long in the land. That too, is the reason why the Tathāgata is called a king.”¹

If all this monarchial splendor had gathered itself around the figure of the Buddha even when there was supposed to be but one Buddha in the universe at a time, we can readily imagine how easily, when there were supposed to be many of them existing simultaneously, the many Buddhas would be thought of as ruling, king-like, each over his own field. The Cakravartin must have played a particularly significant part in the history of the Buddha-kṣetra concept, as a model for the Mahāyāna picture of the Buddhas ruling —by *dhamma*, of course—over their respective fields.²

But the Wheel-King was not the only model for this picture. There were other figures, equally familiar in Hindu mythology, to whose likeness the Mahāyāna Buddhas were gradually assimilated. These figures were the *various chief*

¹ Przyluski has shown in his study of “Le Parinirvāṇa et les Funérailles,” JAS. XI (1918) 485 ff. to XV (1920), 5 ff. (especially “*Vêtements de Religieux et Vêtements de Rois*,” XIII (1919), 365–430) how the Cakravartin model exercised a determining influence upon the growth of Buddhist legend. The funeral rites according to the earliest records were those of a similar Samāṇa, but under the influence of the Cakravartin model the tradition arose that Buddha had been buried with royal honours! (See also Senart, *La Légende du Bouddha*, esp. Ch. II.)

² See, however, Mus, *Le Buddha Paré* (BEFEO 1928), p. 274, for gap between the ruling Buddha modelled on the Cakravartin or on Hindu presiding gods, and the Saṃbhogakāya in the midst of his Bodhisattvas.

gods of the *Hindus pantheon*, who were thought of¹ as presiding over various worlds or heavens in the sky, places where virtuous persons were reborn in bliss.

These deva-heavens were taken over bodily by Buddhism and from the beginning given an important place² in Buddhist cosmology, as places of rebirth for the layman³ who could not appreciate Nirvāṇa, or who, even if he could appreciate it, could not hope to attain it in one life-time.⁴

Given this initial importance of the deva-heavens, particularly the heavens of individual gods like Sakka and Brahmā, it was inevitable that Buddhist thought should

¹ Even when the cosmos was made up of only one, or ten thousand, world-systems (each world-system having its several heavens presided over by various gods—see Chapter I, p. 219 (21), note 1).

² The orthodox Hīnayāna scriptures have so accustomed us to think of Nirvāṇa as the only goal that it is difficult for us to realise the great importance of *rebirth in heaven* as an ideal for the layman. M. Przyluski's researches have shown the popularity of the *Treatise on Rebirth in Heaven* among the proto-Mahāyāna schools of North India. It seems to have been one of the three most popular scriptures. See *Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, p. 196, 412, and *passim*, especially the quotations on p. 196 from *Sātrālamkāra*, pp. 45, 130, 439.

³ As such they played an important part as ethical "sanctions": "It is impossible, monks, . . . that one addicted to ill deeds of body, speech, and thought should, consequent on that . . . when body breaks up, after death be reborn in the Happy Lot (*sugatiṃ*), in the Heaven World (*saggam lokam*). But that it should be otherwise may well be." *Āṅgutt.* i. p. 29; *Gradual Sayings* I. p. 26. Note, along this line, the familiar antithesis in *Dhammapada*; "this world . . . the other world."

It is interesting to discover in this connection in the *Saṃyutta* (iv. 270, *K. S.* IV. 186) the doctrine that *taking refuge in the Buddha* (or Dhamma or Sangha) *secures one's rebirth in heaven*—a very significant predecessor of the Pure Land Sects that calling upon Amitābha ensures one's rebirth in his Buddha-field *Sukhāvatī*!—

"Good indeed, O Lord of the Devas, is the going to take refuge in the Buddha . . . the Dhamma . . . the Sangha. Such going to take refuge in the Buddha is the reason why, when body breaks up, after death, some beings are born here in the Happy State, in the Heaven World!"

⁴ When we read (in the *Āṅguttara*, for instance) how in a certain deva-heaven disciples of Buddha (who are also adepts in *jhāna*) pass away and are not reborn, we are strongly reminded of the praises of *Sukhāvatī* as a place where creatures become enlightened in one birth!

"And how is a monk blessed with speed?

produce similar heavens for the Buddhas. A powerful "psychological lag" would compel this assimilation. For instance, Hindu converts to Buddhism, who were used to thinking of Brahmā as presiding over the highest heaven, when they were now taught that Buddha was superior to all gods could imagine this superiority only in the concrete terms which were familiar to them. They would quite naturally think of Buddha as ruling over a heaven higher than Brahmā's and more glorious than Brahmā's, and, having aspired previously to be reborn in Brahmā's heaven, they would now aspire to be reborn in Buddha's heaven-world! Their picture of Buddha and his heaven would necessarily be modelled to a large extent upon the picture already in their heads of Brahmā and his heaven.

This process of assimilation is of course perfectly familiar whenever one religion appears to supplant another; means may be changed, but the fundamental pictures in the minds of the common people resist change with the tenacity of centuries!

Buddhist teachers did try to show the inferiority of the old gods—(see the references in Dayal's note 13, p. 330)—or else they tried to make the figure of the Buddha supplant¹

"Herein a monk, by destroying the five fetters that bind to the lower world, is reborn spontaneously (in the Pure Abodes), destined there to pass away, *not to return from that world.*" *Āṅgutt.* i. 245, *Gradual Sayings* I, p. 224.

"A certain person, by utterly transcending consciousness of formreaches up to and abides in the sphere of infinite space.... When he makes an end he is reborn in the company of the Devas who have reached the sphere of infinite space.

"Now monks, the life of those Devas is 20,000 cycles. Therein the ordinary man stays and spends his lifetime according to the life-span of those devas: then he goes to Purgatory or to the womb of an animal or to the realm of Ghosts. But a disciple of the Exalted One, after staying there and spending his lifetime according to the life-span of those Devas, finally passes away (*parinibbāyati*) in that very state." *Āṅgutt.* i. 267; *Gradual Sayings*, I. p. 245-246.

¹ So *Sutta Nipāta* § 657: Who is endowed with the three-fold knowledge, pacified, free from further existence—thus know, O Vāseṭṭha—is to be recognised as Brahmā and Sakka.

them entirely, (a sort of humanistic propaganda!)¹ but human conservatism was too strong for them, and instead of the gods being humanised the Buddha became deified!

It was not only psychological "lag" which demanded that the Buddhas be made into gods and given each his particular heaven. Other psychological factors played their part in this demand: particularly the worshippers' need for a *concrete realm* which they could visualise when they thought of rebirth, and still more their desire for a *personal relationship with the Buddha*. "Dwelling in the sight of the Buddhas" is expressed as an end in itself in the *Dhammapada* from the Chinese.² "Being delivered and seeing the *Tathāgata*" along with obtaining great riches and being reborn among the devas, is the goal for the sake of which offerings to Upagupta are recommended, in the *Açokāvadāna* (A-yu Wang King, 32b-33b. *Légende de l'Empereur Açoka*, p. 248).

This emphasis upon personal devotion to the Buddha is the expression in Buddhism of a tendency which was becoming irresistibly strong in contemporary India—a tendency to stress *bhakti* or devoted worship of a personal God. At this time the *Gītā* was teaching the attainment of supreme salvation through devotion to Kṛṣṇa; Śaivites were finding their blessedness in devotion to Śiva, and Buddhists

¹ Cf. the *Deva-dhamma Jātaka*, "On True Divinity." "The pure in heart who fear to sin; the good, kindly in world and deed—these are the beings in the world, whose nature should be called divine." (*Jātaka* I, tr. p. 183).

² Beal, *The Dhammapada from the Buddhist Canon*, p. 43 ff.—a story of how two disciples going across a desert from Rāgagriha to Śrāvastī to see the Buddha, nearly die of thirst. The only pool is full of insects. One drinks, arguing that the end justifies the means. The other, considering that the Law of Buddha was one of universal love, which forbade the taking of life, refused to drink, died, was reborn in Heaven and came first to where Buddha was. When the other arrived, Buddha said, "You who say you see me, yet have transgressed my Law, are not seen by me, . . . whereas this man who has kept the Law dwells ever in my sight." This refers to Buddha as Dharmakāya, but still it illustrates how being in Buddha's sight was highly prized.

naturally found a similar object of devotion in their founder, for whose person they had always felt deep love and reverence. Har Dayal thinks that the *bhakti* movement arose in Buddhism;¹ it is true that there was a natural basis for it in Buddhism, but the sort of devotion inculcated in the *Lotus* for the supernal Blessed One is clearly an expression of the trend toward devotional theism which was making itself felt in various forms in the India of that time. The growing desire to believe that the Buddha was present and *existing somewhere*² as an object of devotion, was also probably in part a result of the *bhakti* tendency. For *bhakti* pre-supposes that the object of one's devotion is there to receive it: one can hardly be devoted to an extinct person! If the old forbidden question about Buddha's existence after (or in) Nirvāṇa could be answered in the affirmative, (or if the Buddha were thought of as renouncing Nirvāṇa for endless ages), the worshippers might have some hope that Buddha did exist somewhere in space, perhaps in a heaven like Brahmā's³ and could be prayed to and would bring his

¹ See his arguments in *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 31 f.

² See views of the Mahāsāṃghikas quoted on following page.

³ Such a belief may have been fostered by two beliefs: (a) that the Bodhisattva came from the Tūṣita heaven where he had presided previous to his descent; according to some schools he never really left this heaven but merely sent a nirmāṇakāya down; (b) that at his death he ascended to the Brahmā-heaven. Such a belief is expressed, curiously enough, by Ānanda at the Master's death, according to both *Samyuktāgama* and *Avadāna-Āṭaka*, whereas Anuruddha speaks of Him as entered into Nirvāṇa! (J. As. 1918 Vol. XI, p. 491-501 ff.—*Le Parinirvāṇa et les Funérailles du Bouddha*):

Samyuktāgama XIII, 4. p. 59a from *Tsa-a-han-king* (Nanjio n. 544):

"Le Guide, avec ce joyau de corps,
Est monté vers le dieu Brahmā." (Spoken by Ānanda).
Avadāna-Āṭaka (Speyer's ed., Bibl. Bud. III, p. 198):

"Le conducteur excellent, possédant un corps précieux
Ayant de grandes magies, est allé au monde de Brahmā."
(Ānanda.)

Féer translates:

"Le joyau du corps avec lequel le guide
Doué de la puissance surnaturelle est entré dans le monde de

followers to be reborn in his heaven if they called on him.

A Buddha in Nirvāṇa would have been of no use to them, would have had no emotional appeal! In the *Milinda Questions*¹ it is argued that gifts to the sacred relics in stūpas have some point in that they do the *donor* good, even if the Buddha does not receive them, but this very discussion reflects a tendency to think of the Buddhas as existing after Nirvāṇa,² and "receiving" the worship performed to their stūpas. This is corroborated by the doctrine of the Mahā-sāṃghikas as stated in the *Kathā Vatthu*,³ "that the Buddhas persist in all directions." The Commentary explains that "the Mahā-sāṃghikas hold that a Buddha exists in the four quarters of the firmament, above, below, and around, causing his change of habitat to come to pass in any sphere of being."

The active people of North India were clearly not to be satisfied with Nirvāṇa as goal and Buddha in Nirvāṇa as ideal standard: they wanted to look forward to rebirth in a concrete picturesque realm presided over by a living compassionate personal Buddha—a Buddha at least as splendid as their own kings and generals or their old gods! This demand alone would be enough to explain the genesis of the Buddha-kṣetra idea.

One further development, in quite another direction, is worthy of mention for the influence it may have had upon the growth of the notion of different individuals' *local responsibility for preaching the Dharma in different regions*.

This development is concerned with the cycle of tradi-

Brahmā,

A été consumé par un feu intérieur." (J. As. 1879, II. p. 275, quoted by Przyluski, J. As. XI, p. 491).

¹ Tr. I, p. 144 ff. "On Honours paid to the Buddha."

² Ibid. "If the Buddha accepts gifts, he cannot have passed entirely away!"

³ *Points of Controversy*, p. 355. Cf. Vasumitra's *Treatise on Early Buddhist Schools*, (Tr. Masuda—*Asia Major*, 1925) p. 19, for Doctrine of Mahā-sāṃghikas et al. that "the rūpakāya of the Tathāgata is indeed limitless."

tions connected with the sixteen arhats,¹ to whom the Buddha at his Nirvāṇa is supposed to have entrusted the Dharma. They were to protect the Dharma, *each in his particular region of the world*, after the Nirvāṇa of the Blessed One. Their story is particularly significant for the evolution of the idea of *local assignment of responsibility* later connected with the Buddha-kṣetra, because they seem to be the prototypes of the *sixteen princes* whom we met in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*² preaching the Dharma in the *several directions of space, in different Buddha-fields*.

In what seems to be the oldest form of the story the Buddha entrusts the Dharma to Mahā Brahmā and the four Lokapālas,³ who are to protect the Dharma *each in his own region*; in the next stage of the legend he entrusts it also to four great Śrāvakas who are to stay out of Nirvāṇa to guard the Dharma until the coming of Maitreya.⁴ In a later

¹ Lévi et Chavannes, *Les Seize Arhat*, J. As. 1916, Vol. 8, p. 5 ff. and 189 ff.

² Ch. VII. p. 134 line 3 ff. (tr. p. 177): "Those sixteen princes, the youths, who as novices under the mastership of the Lord were interpreters of the Law, have all reached supreme perfect Enlightenment, and all of them are staying, existing, living, even now, in the *several directions of space, in different Buddha-fields*, preaching the Dharma to many hundreds of thousand myriads of koṭis of disciples and Bodhisattvas, to wit:

In the East, monks, in the lokadhātu Abhirati, the Tathāgata, Arhat....Akṣobhya....and Merukūṭa; In the southeast, monks, is the Tathāgata Simhaghosa, etc.; In the south,....etc.; In the south-west,....etc.; In the West, monks, the Tathāgata Amitāyus, etc.; In the north-west,....etc.; In the north,....etc.; In the north-east the Tathāgata Sarvalokabhayaājitaśambhitatavavidhvamsanakara and the sixteenth, myself, Śākyamuni, who have attained supreme perfect enlightenment in the center of this Sahā-world."

³ Parallel in A-yu wang Tehouan Ch. IX, (tr. Przyluski *Legende de l'Empereur Açoka*, p. 399-400): The Buddha says to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, "You must protect the law of Buddha in the East." The Buddha says to Virūḍhaka, "You must protect the law of Buddha in the South." The Buddha says to Virūpakṣa, "You must protect the law of Buddha in the West." The Buddha says to Vaiśramaṇa, "You must protect the law of Buddha in the North."

⁴ J. As. 1916, Vol. 3, p. 192 (*Sūtra of Ekottara Āgama*, Tōk. XII,

version the Dharma in entrusted instead to *sixteen great Arhats*, who, like the four, are to stay out of Nirvāṇa:—until the final extinction of the Dharma! Until then they dwell in *different parts of the world* (one is in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three!), *in the various directions*,¹ maintain-

3. 34b, col. 9; *ibid* IV. 5, 48b col. 5) At that time the Blessed One said to Kāśyapa:

"Now I have the age of decrepitude; I am about to be eighty. Now the Tathāgata has four great Śrāvakas who are capable of taking charge of the apostolate and of conversion. Their wisdom unlimited, their virtues are complete. Who are the four? They are: the bhikṣu Mahā Kāśyapa; the bhikṣu Kuṇḍopadhāniya; the bhikṣu Piṇḍola; the bhikṣu Rāhula. You others, (besides Kāśyapa?) you four great Śrāvakas, must not enter into Parinirvāṇa. It must be only after the extinction of my Law that you should attain Parinirvāṇa. O Mahā-Kāśyapa, you too must not enter into Parinirvāṇa." (There seems to have been a well-known tradition that Kāśyapa was supposed to wait for the coming of Maitreya before entering Nirvāṇa—Hiuan-tsang, *Mémoires* II, 8; *Divyāvadhāna* 61; Māla Śārvāstivādin *Vinaya*, and *Aṣokāv.*, tr. by Przyluski, J. As. 1914, II, 527-546.)

Another version from *Śāriputra-paripṛcchā* (Nanj. 1152):

"Śāriputra said to Buddha: "How does it happen, O Tathāgata, that you have said to Śakra Devendra and to the Four Deva Kings: 'I shall shortly enter into Nirvāṇa. You others, *each in your region*, protect and maintain my Law. After I shall have left the world, the four great bhikṣus Mahākāśyapa, Piṇḍola, Kuṇḍopadhāniya, and Rāhula will remain without entering into Nirvāṇa; they will spread my Law and make it penetrate.... In the time of the counterfeit Law,...you shall be witnesses of the faith; according to the.... importance of the occasion, you shall *cause images of Buddha* or of monks to appear (cf. functions of Buddhas in Buddha-field! See Ch. III). When Maitreya shall descend to be born here, you shall be authorised to enter into Nirvāṇa."

One of these four Arhats, Piṇḍola, had an interesting history of his own. Originally *condemned* (as a punishment—for showing off his magic power) not to enter into Nirvāṇa till Maitreya should appear on earth, he came to represent the Bodhisattva-ideal as the protector of the Dharma, in the period when the Mahāyāna was taking shape, particularly in North India. The *punishment* aspect of his story is pushed farther and farther into the background until it is finally left out altogether in some of the Cashmirian recensions of the story, and Piṇḍola comes to be thought of as a self-sacrificing person, prototype of the Bodhisattva who here renounced Nirvāṇa! (*Les Seize Arhat* pp. 207-208, 213 ff.)

¹ Nandimitra leur dit:....Le Tathāgata auparavant déjà a

ing the Sad-Dharma and making themselves useful to living creatures. The fact that their respective realms are—with one exception²—in *this* world, does not lessen the importance of the cycle of stories for the evolution which we are investigating. The sixteen Arhats as *persons who stayed out of Nirvāṇa*, seem to be significant as predecessors of the Bodhisattvas and their assignment to various geographical

prononcé le texte sacré (sūtra) concernant la durée de la Loi. Maintenant je l'exposerai de nouveau brièvement en votre faveur. Le Buddha Bhagavat au moment de son Parinirvāṇa a confié la Loi sans supérieure à seize grands Arhat et à leur entourage, en leur ordonnant de la protéger de façon à ce qu'elle ne fût pas détruite. Il leur ordonna de faire en personne et avec les bienfaiteurs (dānapati) un véritable champ de bonheur (Piṇḍola was similarly supposed to be a punyakṣetra) de façon à ce que ces bienfaitures obtinssent la récompense du grand fruit.

....Ces seize grands Arhat que voilà possèdent au complet les mérites illimités qui sont les trois Sciences, les six Pénétrations, les huit Délivrances, etc.; ils se sont affranchis des trois souillures des trois dhātus; ils récitent et possèdent les trois Recueils; ils ont des connaissances vastes et profondes sur les trois règles étrangères à la religion. Parce qu'ils ont reçu le mandat du Bouddha, grâce à la force de leurs Pénétrations surnaturelles, ils ont prolongé la durée de leur propre longévité. Et aussi longtemps que devait durer la Loi correcte du Bhagavat, constamment après lui ils l'ont protégée et maintenue...

....Les bhikṣus et bhikṣuṇīs demandèrent: "Nous ne savons pas en quel endroit demeuraient généralement les seize Vénérables, gardant et maintenant la vraie Loi et se rendant utiles aux êtres vivants."

Nandimitra répondit: "*Le premier Vénérable*, avec son entourage de mille Arhat, le plus souvent à sa résidence particulière dans la continent Kiu-t' o-ni occidentale (Aparagodanī); *Le 2me Vénérable*, avec son entourage de 500 Arhat, le plus souvent à sa résidence particulière dans le royaume de Kia-cha-milo (Cashmir-Kōśmīra) de la région du Nord; *Le 3me Vénérable*....600 Arhat....le continent....oriental (Pūrva-Videha); *Le 4me Vénérable*....700 Arhat le continent....septentrional (Uttarakuru); *Le 5me Vénérable*....800 Arhat....le continent....méridional (Jambudvīpa); etc., to; *Le 10me Vénérable*....1300 Arhat....le ciel des trente-trois (Trayastrīmśa): etc. to; *Le 15me Vénérable*....1500 Arhat....le montagne Tsieou-fong ('cime du vautour' ou Gṛdhrakūṭa)." *Les Seize Arhat*, p. 8 ff.

See the remark of Tao-Siuan (*Seize Arhat*, p. 214) that *there are holy men everywhere in every place who preside over the Buddhist Law!*

² This one exception—the "Heaven of the Thirty-Three"—is particularly interesting.

areas reflects a significant stage in the evolution of *local division of responsibility among those mandated to preach the Dharma*, which points to the later assigning of future Buddhas to various areas of the universe for their Buddha-fields, as we saw in the case of the sixteen princes in *Lotus VII*.

(*To be concluded*)

TERESINA ROWELL

DIE SPUREN DES BUDDHISMUS IN CHINA VOR KAISER MING, NEBST EINER BETRACHTUNG ÜBER DEN URSPRUNG UND DIE BEDEUTUNG DES "CHIN-JÊN"

III. CHIN-JÊN.

A. Quellen und Zeugnisse.

Unsere bisherige Untersuchung hat im wesentlichen die allgemeinen Voraussetzungen erörtert, unter denen der Buddhismus bereits im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. seinen Weg nach China finden konnte. Dass es keineswegs bei dieser blossen Möglichkeit blieb, sondern dass der Buddhismus damals in China tatsächlich seinen Einzug gehalten hat, ergibt sich, wie ich glaube, aus verschiedenen Spuren, die er in Chinesischen Quellen hinterlassen hat: es handelt sich dabei vor allem um die Bedeutung des "Chin-jên" sowie um das erste Eindringen buddhistischer Texte in China. Bevor wir auf die Bedeutung des Chin-jên für die Geschichte des chinesischen Buddhismus eingehen, erscheint es angebracht, die Zeugnisse über diese(n) Chin-jên zusammenzustellen und einer kritischen Betrachtung zu unterziehen.

a. *Chin-jên der Ch'in-Zeit (221 v. Chr.).*

Im Shih-huang-pên-chi (始皇本紀) des Shih-chi (Kap. 6, S. 10b) steht folgende Notiz:

廿六年秦始皇併天下，收天下兵聚咸陽。銷以爲鍾鐻金人十二。重各各千石。置廷宮中。

"Im sechsundzwanzigsten Jahre vereinigte der erste Kaiser der Ch'in-Dynastie das ganze Reich in seiner Hand. Alle Waffen im Lande wurden beschlagnahmt und in Hsien-yang gesammelt. Durch Einschmelzung wurden

dann Sockel (?)¹ und zwölf Chin-jên-Statuen gegossen. Jede Statue war tausend "Shih" schwer. Sie wurden im Palast aufgestellt."

Ein Shih (石) hat einhundertundzwanzig Pfund (斤), daher muss ein Chin-jên mit 120.000 Pfund ziemliche Ausmasse gehabt haben. Diese Chin-jên blieben bis in spätere Zeiten hinein erhalten, wie sich aus folgenden Nachrichten ergibt.

Im Kapitel Chiao-ssü-chih (郊祀志) des Han-shu (Kap. 25, 下 S. 41a) heisst es:

正月 (甘露元年) 上幸甘泉郊泰畤. 其夏黃龍見新豐. 建章. 末史. 長樂宮鍾虞銅人皆生毛長一寸所, 時以爲美祥.

"Im ersten Monat (53 v. Chr.) ging der Kaiser nach Kan-ch'üan, um den Erdgöttern zu opfern. In diesem Sommer erschien ein gelber Drache in Hsin-fêng. Den Kupfer-Menschen, die in den Palästen Chien-chang, Wei-yang und Ch'ang-lo auf Sockeln standen (?), wuchsen ungefähr ein Zoll lange Haare. Dies wurde damals als Glückszeichen betrachtet."

Hieraus kann man entnehmen, das die Chin-jên der Ch'in-Dynastie noch zur Zeit des Kaisers Hsüan (73-49 v. Chr.) in den drei Palästen vorhanden waren. Das Han-shu (Kap. 99, 下 S. 24b-25a) berichtet weiter in der Biographie des Wang Mang (王莽):

莽夢長樂宮銅人五枚起立, 莽惡之, 念銅人銘有皇帝初兼天下之文, 即使尚方工鑄滅所夢銅人膺文.

"Mang träumte, dass sich die fünf Kupfer-Menschen im Palast Ch'ang-lo erhoben. Mang hielt dies für ein schlechtes Omen und dachte über die auf den Kupfer-Menschen als Inschrift² stehenden Worte nach: 'Der Kaiser (d. h. Shih-huang-ti) vereinigte zum ersten Mal das ganze Reich.' Darauf liess er durch Palast-Handwerker

¹ Dieser Ausdruck "鍾鐻" wird im folgenden noch behandelt.

² Vgl. unter dem Kommentar des Shui-ching (水經注), Kap. 4.

die Mahnworte auf den Kupfer-Menschen auskratzen, von denen er geträumt hatte.”

Daraus geht hervor, dass auch noch zur Zeit des Wang Mang, d. h. kurz nach Christi Geburt im Palast Ch'ang-lo fünf derartige Chin-jên sich befanden. Das Wort “起立” heisst “aufstehen,” “sich von seinem Sitz erheben.” So könnte man vermuten, dass diese Chin-jên vielleicht Sitz-Statuen waren.

Auch Pan Ku (班固) erwähnt in seiner poetischen Beschreibung von Ch'ang-an (dem bekannten 西都賦) diese Chin-jên; es heisst dort:³

列鍾虞於中庭，立金人於端闕。

“Man stellte die Sockel im Innenhof (nebeneinander) auf und wies den Chin-jên einen Platz im Haupttor (des Palastes) an.”⁴

Darauf bezieht sich offenbar auch die ungefähr gleichzeitige Erwähnung der Chin-jên in einem “fu” des Chang Hêng (張衡):⁵

高門有閤，列座金狄。

“Das hohe Tor hat weiten Raum; hier sitzen Goldbarbaren nebeneinander.”

Unter “Gold-Barbaren” (金狄) sind nach dem Tz'ü-yüan die Chin-jên zu verstehen, die Shih-huang-ti giessen liess (金狄金人也。即秦始皇所鑄者).⁶ Diese Erklärung beruht offenbar auf dem Kommentar zum Shui-ching-chu (水經注) des Li Tao-yüan (麗道元), dem zufolge die von Shih-huang-ti gegossenen Chin-jên deshalb als “Gold-Barbaren” (金狄) bezeichnet wurden, weil das Erscheinen von Barbaren ihren Guss veranlasst habe (Kap. 4).

³ Wên-hsüan (文選), Kap. 1, S. 5b.

⁴ Vgl. G. Margouliès, Le “fou” dans le Wen-süan, Paris 1926, p. 13.

⁵ Wên-hsüan, Kap. 2, S. 4a.

⁶ Vgl. Tz'ü-yüan unter 金狄.

Chang Shou-chieh (張守節), der Verfasser des Shih-chi chêng-i (史記正義), zitiert aus dem San-fu chiu-shih (三輔舊事) folgende Stelle (Shih-chi, Kap. 6):

聚天下兵器，鑄銅人十二，各各廿四萬斤。漢世在長樂宮門。

“(Shih-huang-ti) sammelte im ganzen Reiche die Waffen und liess daraus zwölf Kupfer-Menschen giessen, von denen jeder 240,000 Pfund wog. In der Han-Zeit standen sie im Tore des Palastes Ch'ang-lo.”

Während also nach dem Shih-chi jede Statue der Chin-jên 120.000 Pfund wog, geben das San-fu chiu-shih und das Shui-ching-chu (Kap. 4) gerade das doppelte Gewicht an. Jedenfalls müssen die Chin-jên riessengross gewesen sein.

Über die weitere Geschichte der Chin-jên orientieren uns noch einige Stellen in verschiedenen Geschichtswerken. In der Biographie des Tung Cho (董卓) im Wei-chih (Kap. 6, S. 3b) wird berichtet:

悉椎破銅人鍾虞及五銖錢，更鑄以小錢

“Er stampfte alle Kupfer-Menschen, Sockel sowie die ‘Wu-shu’-Münzen ein und liess daraus Kleingeld münzen.”

Das Shi-chi-chêng-i zitiert (Shih-chi, Kap. 6) aus dem Kuang-chung-chi (關中記) weiter folgende Stelle:

董卓壞銅人十，餘二徙清門裏。魏明帝欲將詣洛載到霸城，重不可致。後石季龍徙之鄴。苻堅又徙之入長安而銷之。

“Tung Cho liess zehn der Kupfer-Menschen zerschlagen und die übrigen zwei an die Innenseite des Ch'ing-Tores umsetzen. Als Kaiser Ming (227-239) der Wei-Dynastie sie nach Lo-yang schaffen wollte, wurden sie bis zur Stadt Pa transportiert. Aber wegen ihrer Schwere erreichten sie nicht (ihren Bestimmungsort). Später

* Er war der zweite Herrscher der späteren Chao (後趙)-Dynastie (ca. 350 n. Chr.). Vgl. Chung-kuo jên-ming ta-tz'ü-tien, S. 215.

brachte sie Shih-Chi-lung⁷ nach Yeh. Fu Chien⁸ schaffte sie wieder nach Ch'ang-an und schmolz sie ein."

Während hier die Zahl der zerstörten Chin-jên auf zehn angegeben wird, soll Tung Cho nach dem Kommentar zum Shui-ching-chu (Kap. 4) nur neun vernichtet haben:

後董卓毀其九爲錢，其三魏明帝欲徙之洛陽，重不可致，至霸水停之。漢書春秋曰，或言金狄泣故留之。石虎取鄴宮，苻堅又徙之長安，毀之爲錢，其一不至，而苻堅亂。百姓椎置陝北河中，於是金狄滅。

"Später zerschlug Tung Cho neun davon (von den 12), um Geld daraus zu münzen. Die (übrigen) drei wollte Kaiser Ming der Wei-Dynastie nach Lo-yang schaffen, doch ging das wegen ihrer Schwere nicht; sie kamen nur bis Flusse Pa, wo man sie stehenliess. Das Han-shu Ch'un-ch'iu sagt: Es wird behauptet, man habe sie zurückgelassen, weil die Gold-Barbaren weinten. Shih Hu⁹ brachte sie nach dem Palast von Yeh. Fu Chien schaffte sie dann wieder nach Ch'ang-an und zerschlug sie, um Geld daraus zu münzen; einer davon kam aber nicht dorthin. Als dann (das Reich von) Fu Chien in Unordnung geriet, schlug das Volk (den Kupfer-Menschen in Stücke) und warf diese in den Fluss Hsia-peï. So gingen die Chin-ti zu Grunde."

Offenbar gehen diese Geschichten, soweit sie die Chin-ti und den Kaiser Ming-ti betreffen, sämtlich auf das Wei-lüeh, einen Kommentar zum Wei-chih, zurück (Kap. 3, S. 8a). Soviel scheint sicher zu sein, dass die Chin-jên bis in die Chin (晉)-Zeit hinein von einem Platz zum anderen geschleppt wurden.

Die übrigen Zeugnisse über die Chin-jên, die eigentlich noch in diesen Abschnitt gehörten, werden aus äusseren Gründen erst in einem späteren Kapitel erörtert (vgl. unten S. 68 f.).

⁸ Der zweite Herrscher der Yao-Ch'in (姚秦)-Dynastie (gest. 386 n. Chr.). Vgl. Chung-kuo jên-ming ta-tz'ü-tien, S. 842 f.

⁹ Shih Hu ist identisch mit dem vorher genannten Shih Chi-lung.

b. *Chin-jên der früheren Han-Zeit (121 v. Chr.).*

Gegen Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. hören wir dann von einem anderen Chin-jên; dieser wird zum ersten Mal in der Biographie des Ho Ch'ü-ping (霍去病), eines Reiter-Generals der kaiserlichen Leibwache (衛將軍驃騎) erwähnt. Es heisst dort (Shih-chi Kap. iii. S. 6b):

元狩二年春以冠軍侯霍去病爲驃騎將軍，將萬騎出隴西有功天子曰，驃騎將軍率我士踰烏隄討遼瀛涉狐奴，歷五王國輸大衆，懼懼者弗取冀，獲單于子，轉戰六日過焉支山千有餘里，合短兵殺析蘭王，斬盧胡王，誅全甲，執渾邪王子及相國都尉首虜八千餘級，收休屠祭天金人。

¹“Im Frühling des zweiten Jahres Yüan-shou wurde der Fürst Kuan-chün Ho Ch'ü-ping zum General der Reiterei ernannt. Als Befehlshaber von zehntausend Reitern erwarb er sich in den Ländern westlich von Lung viele Verdienste. Der Kaiser sagte: “Der P'iao-chi-chiang-chün (Kavalleriegeneral) leitete sein tapfres Heer, überschritt den Berg Wu-li, eroberte das Land Su-p'ü, überschritt den Fluss Hu-nu, durchquerte die Reiche von fünf Königen und führte das Heer noch weiter. Denen, die vor Schrecken erstarrten, tat er kein Leid. Den Shan-yü (Fürst der Hunnen) nahm er gefangen. Nachdem er sechs Tage kämpfend umhergezogen war und sich mehr als tausend Li von dem Berg Yen-chih entfernt hatte, versammelte er seine kleine Armee und tötete den König von Chê-lan (in der Schlacht), schlug den Kopf des Königs von Lu-hu ab und liess das ganze (feindliche) Heer hinrichten. Er erbeutete über achttausend Häupter, darunter die des Prinzen Chih-hsieh, der Minister, Offiziere u.a., und nahm auch den Chin-jên an sich, mit dem der Hsiu-ch'ü² den Himmel verehrte.”

Derselbe Satz steht auch in der Parallel-Biographie des

¹ Vgl. J.J.M. de Groot, “Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens” I Teil, S. 120 f., wo eine etwas abweichende Übersetzung dieser Stelle sich findet.

² Das Zeichen “屠” liest man im allgemeinen “t'u”, in diesem Titel, der als ein Ehrennamen den Hunnenherrschern beigelegt wurde, ist es “ch'u” zu lesen.

Ho Ch'ü-ping im Ch'ien-han-shu (Kap. 55) sowie im Hunnen-Kapitel des Shih-chi (Kap. 110). Das Ch'ien-han-shu erzählt ferner die gleiche Geschichte in der Biographie des Chin Ji-ti (金日磾), eines Sohnes des Hunnenkönigs Hsiu-ch'u, der vom General Ho Ch'ü-ping unterworfen wurde. Es heisst dort (Kap. 68, S. 38-39):

金日磾字翁叔本匈奴休屠王太子也。武帝元狩中驃騎將軍霍去病將兵匈奴右地，多斬首虜，獲休屠王祭天金人。其夏驃騎復西過居攻祁連山大克獲，於是單于怨昆邪休屠居西方，多為漢所破。召其王欲誅之……

34“金日磾 Chin-ji-ti, mit Beinamen Wêng-shu, war der Thronfolger des Hunnen-Königs Hsiu-ch'u. In der Periode Yüan-shou des Kaisers Wu führte der Reitergeneral Ho Ch'ü-ping seine Truppen gegen das rechte Gebiet der Hunnen, schlug vielen die Köpfe ab und erbeutete einen Chin-jên, dessen sich der König Hsiu-ch'u beim Darbringen der Opfer an den Himmel bediente. In diesem Sommer rückte der Reitergeneral abermals nach Westen vor, durchzog Chü-yen, griff das Ch'i-lien-Gebirge an, gewann grosse Siege und machte viele Gefangene. Der Shan-yü, sehr verstimmt darüber, dass die im Westen liegenden (Reiche) K'un-hsieh und Hsiu-ch'u wiederholt von Han geschlagen wurden, beschied deren Könige zu sich, in der Absicht, sie mit dem Tode zu strafen....”

In dem gleichen Kapitel (S. 41b) heisst es:

本以休屠作金人為祭天主，故因賜姓金氏云。

“Da der Hsiu-ch'u ursprünglich Chin-jên angefertigt und mit ihnen den Herrn des Himmels verehrt hatte, wurde (seinem Sohn Ji-ti) der Familienname “Chin” verliehen.”

³ Vgl. De Groot, a.a.O. S. 131; der Ausdruck 金人 wird hier einfach mit “goldenes Bild” wiedergegeben.

B. Die Bedeutung des Chin-jên.

a. Auf Grund chinesischer Urkunden.

1. Allgemeines.

Nachdem wir so die ältesten Stellen, wo der Ausdruck "Chin-jên" vorkommt, zusammengestellt haben, gehen wir dazu über, die Bedeutung des Ausdrucks zu untersuchen. Der Bericht des Hou-han-shu über die Traumerscheinung des Kaisers Ming legt den Schluss nahe, dass unter "Chin-jên" eine Buddha-Statue und zwar die des Śākyamuni verstanden werden muss (vgl. Hou-han-shu Kap. 118, Nr. 78):

明帝夢見金人，長大頂有光明，以問群臣，或曰西方有神名曰佛，其形長丈六尺而黃金色，帝於是遣使天竺問佛道法。

"Der Kaiser Ming sah einen Chin-jên im Traum. Dieser war sehr gross und sein Haupt von Licht umstrahlt. Er befragte seine Beamten (darüber). Einer sagte: Es gibt im Westen einen Gott, Buddha genannt, dessen Gestalt ist sechzehn Fuss gross und goldfarbig. Darauf schickte der Kaiser Boten nach Indien, um von der Lehre Buddha's Kenntnis zu erhalten."

Der Ausdruck "Chin-jên" als Synonym für Buddha-Statue oder Buddha (Śākyamuni) hat später unter den Buddhisten weite Verbreitung gewonnen, und ist sogar in Japan bekannt geworden. In einem Trauergedichte des japanischen Priesters Shi-taku (思託) über den Tod (763 n. Chr.) seines Lehrers, des chinesischen Priesters Chien-chên (Jap.: Ganjin 鑑真), be findet sich folgender Satz:¹

金人道東已。

"Die Lehre des Chin-jên ist nach Osten (Japan) gedrungen" (nämlich durch Chien-chên).

Es gibt nun aber in chinesischen Werken auch solche Stellen, die offenbar einer solchen Erklärung widersprechen. Das dritte Kapitel des Chia-yü (家語) berichtet:

¹ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. LI, S. 994c.

孔子觀周入後稷之廟。右陞下之前金人焉。三緘其口而銘背古之慎言人也。

“Als Konfuzius das Land Chou besichtigte, trat er in einen Tempel des Hou-chi ein. Dort stand ein Chin-jên vor der rechten Treppe unten. Sein Mund war dreifach verschlossen, und die Inschrift auf der Rückseite lautete: Ein Mann aus alter Zeit, der vorsichtig in seinen Äusserungen war.”

Wenn wirklich ein Gold-Mensch oder eine goldene Statue zur Zeit des Konfuzius (ca. 500 v. Chr.) existierte, so ist es klar, dass es sich dabei um keine Buddha- oder buddhistische Statue handeln konnte, trotzdem manche Werke Konfuzius und Buddha miteinander in Verbindung bringen. Konnte nun auch dieser Chin-jên keine buddhistische Statue sein, so darf man daraus doch nicht einfach schliessen, dass auch die Chin-jên der Ch'in- und Han-Zeit keine buddhistischen Statuen waren. Das Chia-yü ist bekanntlich später (im Jahre 256 n. Chr.) durch Wang Su (王肅) umgearbeitet worden.² Im dritten Jahrhundert n. Chr. hatte nun der Buddhismus in China schon festen Fuss gefasst; und für die buddhistische Terminologie war durch die Übersetzung der Sûtras bereits eine entsprechende chinesische geschaffen. So besteht die Möglichkeit, dass der Ausdruck “Chin-jên” erst von Wang Su in den Text des Chia-yü eingeführt wurde.

Das Zeichen “Chin” (金) wird häufig in Verbindung mit dem Buddhismus gebraucht, besonders wo es sich um Kultgegenstände handelt. Im Fa-yüan chu-lin (法苑珠林) steht folgende Notiz:³

唐睿宗二女出家爲女冠，一封金仙公主，一封玉真公主，佛家稱，外道仙人修業堅固者亦曰金仙。

“Zwei Töchter des Kaisers Jui-tsung der T'ang-Dynastie traten in den Nonnenstand ein, und zwar wurden

² Vgl. Chavannes, “Les Mémoires Historiques des Se-ma Ts'ien, Paris 1905, p. 439.

³ Vgl. Tz'ü-yüan unter 金仙.

sie taoistische Nonnen; die eine wurde zur Prinzessin von Chin-hsien, die andere zur Prinzessin von Yü-chên ernannt. Die Buddhisten sagten: Die Andersgläubigen und Hsien-jên, die in den religiösen Übungen strenge sind, werden auch "Chin-hsien" (d. h. Hsien-jên: buddhistischer Einsiedler) genannt."

Das Sung-shi (宋史) berichtet:⁴

宋徽宗崇道教，改稱佛爲大覺金仙。

"Kaiser Wei-tsung von Sung verehrte den Taoismus und änderte (den Namen) des Buddha in 'grosser erleuchteter Chin-hsien' um."

Für buddhistische Statuen finden sich verschiedene ähnliche Ausdrücke, z. B. "金身" (Gold-Körper), "金狄" (Gold-Barbar), "金銅像" (Goldene-Bronzestaue), "黃金像" (Gelb-goldene Statue), "金像" (Gold-Statue), etc. Der Ausdruck "Gold-Körper" kommt z. B. in einem Gedicht des Ssu K'ung-shu (司空曙) aus der T'ang-Zeit vor:⁵

百丈金身開翠壁。

"Der goldene Körper von tausend Fuss öffnet die grüne Wand."

Was der Dichter mit diesem kurzen Satz sagen will, ist nicht ohne weiters klar. Nach dem Tz'ü-yüan soll der Ausdruck 金身 einfach eine Buddha-Statue bedeuten.⁶ Vielleicht dachte der Dichter an eine riesengrosse, goldfarbige Buddha-Statue, die sich vor einem grünem Waldstreifen erhob. In buddhistischen Werken findet man häufig Bezeichnungen wie "金像", "黃金像" und "金銅像", während das Fa-yüan chu-lin immer den Ausdruck "金身" für Buddha-Statue gebraucht.⁷ Im Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra (妙法蓮華經) heisst es:⁸

又見諸佛 身相金色 放無量光 照於一切

以梵音聲 演說諸法。

⁴ Vgl. Tz'ü-yüan unter 金仙.

⁵ Vgl. Tz'ü-yüan unter 金身. Leider was es mir nicht möglich, die Originalstelle des Zitates aufzufinden.

⁶ 指佛像. Vgl. Tz'ü-yüan unter 金身.

⁷ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. LIII, S. 301 ff.

⁸ Kioto-Trip. IX, S. 170b.

“Wenn man ferner die Buddhas sieht, deren Körper goldfarbig sind und unermesslichen Glanz aussenden, die damit alles bestrahlen und mit reiner Stimme die Lehre predigen,.....”.

Und

諸佛身金色 百福相莊嚴.

“Die Körper der Buddhas sind goldfarbig und mit hundert Glückszeichen geschmückt.”

Das Huang-ch'ao-ching-ming lu (皇朝景命錄) berichtet: Der Kaiser Hsüan-tsung der T'ang-Dynastie habe vom Himmel einen weisen Nachfolger erfleht, darauf sei ein Prinz geboren, dessen Körper mit goldner Farbe bedeckt war, die nach drei Tagen verschwand. Dazu bemerkt der Verfasser des Fo'su-t'ung chi:⁹

神光金體佛大士之瑞相也.

“Göttlicher Glanz und gold (farbiger) Körper sind die Glückszeichen eines grossen Mannes (Buddha).”

Ebenso häufig wie der Ausdruck 金(色)身¹⁰ findet sich die Bezeichnung 金狄; einen Beleg hierfür enthält das oben erwähnte “fu” des Chang Hêng. Ein anderes Beispiel sei aus dem Tan-chai-pi-hêng (坦齋筆衡) zitiert:¹¹

宋徽宗時道教方盛，其章表皆稱佛爲金狄，如宣和詔云金狄胡風陰邪之氣，朴靈素賀表云蠶金狄之成群丹霄之正法。

“Zur Zeit des Kaisers Wei-tsung von Sung stand der Taoismus in voller Blüte. In allen Schriften (der Taoisten) wurde Buddha als Chin-ti bezeichnet. So heisst es in einem Edikt (der Periode) Hsüan-ho: “Die Chin-ti sehen wie Barbaren aus und haben eine heimtückische Gesinnung.” In einem Glückswunschschreiben des Lin Ling-su an den Kaiser heisst es: “Die vielen Chin-ti

⁹ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. XLIX, S. 394.

¹⁰ So heisst es z. B. in dem Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra (Taishō-Trip. XII, S. 340 ff. Nanjo-Kat. Nr. 198): Die Körper des Amitāyur- oder Amitābha-Buddha (阿彌陀佛), Avalokitēśvara-Bodhisattva (觀世音菩薩), und Sthāna-prāpta-Bodhisattva (勢至菩薩) seien alle ‘goldfarbig.’”

krümmen sich unter der leuchtenden, wahren Lehre (d. h. Taoismus. ” ”

Hayashiya sagt:¹² “Wahrscheinlich war der ursprüngliche Sinn des Ausdrucks ‘Chin-jên’ ganz allgemein ‘Bronzestatue’, und ‘Buddha-Statue’ ist wohl nur eine daraus abgeleitete Bedeutung. Da es ausser den Buddha-Statuen damals keine Bronzestatuen gab, ist Chin-jên ein Synonym für Buddha-Statue geworden; die Buddha-Statuen, die nicht aus Bronze (Kupfer oder anderen Metallen) waren, müssen daher bis zu Anfang der T’ang-Zeit auch Chin-jên genannt worden sein.” Hayashiya führt als Beweis hierfür eine Inschrift auf einer Buddha-Statue aus Stein an, die sich im Besitz des Herrn Takahashi Jirō (高橋次郎) in Japan befindet. Diese Inschrift lautet:

金人覺悟群生，幽光遠著祐之功誠多，安全之德莫大，
信乎聖眷無私恩。同再造貞觀十三歲次己亥五月廿五日，
中書舍人馬周上伯懿敬造佛像二區。

“Chin-jên erweckt alle Lebewesen; sein mystischer Glanz dringt weithin. Um die Beschützung (der Lebewesen) wie um ihre Sicherheit hat er sich wirklich grosse Verdienste erworben. Wahrlich, seine heilige Güte kennt keine eigennützigen Gedanken. Am fünfundzwanzigsten Tag des fünften Monates im dreizehnten Jahre der Periode Chen-juan mit den zyklischen Zeichen Chi-hai (627 n. Chr.) wurden (diese Chin-jên) zusammen neuhergestellt. Der Chung-shu-shê-jên (ein Beamtentitel) Graf Ma von Chou-shang (?) hat ehrfurchtsvoll diese beide Buddha-Statuen anfertigen lassen.”

Ob Hayashiya mit seiner Ansicht, ausser den Buddha-Statuen habe es damals keine Bronzestatuen gegeben und so sei Chin-jên ein Synonym für Buddha-Statue geworden,

¹¹ Vgl. Tz’ü-yüan unter 金狄。

¹² Vgl. Zeitschrift “Gendai-Bukkyō”, Bd. 56, S. 26 f.

¹³ Yüan Hung 袁宏 (328–376) sagt im Kap. Chiao-ssü-chih (郊祀志) seines Hou-han-shu: 佛者漢言覺，將覺悟群生也：Buddha bedeutet auf Chinesisch “der Erweckte” (覺). Er will alle Lebewesen erwecken. Vgl. Taishō-Trip. XLIX, S. 514, LI, S. 970 ff. etc.

wirklich Recht hat, erscheint mir fraglich; denn in China hatte man solche Bronzestatuen schon vor der Ch'in-Zeit gekannt. Ausserdem war der Ausdruck "Wêng-chung" (翁仲) schon lange vor der T'ang-Zeit für solche Statuen im Gebrauch, wie wir im nächsten Abschnitt sehen werden.

Die Bezeichnung "金" scheint direkt "Vergoldung" oder "Blattgold" zu bedeuten. So sprechen Fa-hsien und Hsüan-tsang von der "Gold-Farbe" der Buddha-Statuen. Dabei liegt wohl die Vorstellung zu Grunde, dass ein heiliger Gegenstand in goldenen Farben erglänzen muss. In diesen Zusammenhang gehört ein im Hou-han-shu (Kap. 103, S. 6a) stehender Bericht, der zum ersten Mal die Art und Weise der Vergoldung von Buddha-Statuen beschreibt. Dort heisst es:

初同郡 (丹陽) 人笮融聚衆數百, 往依於 (陶) 謙。
謙使督廣陵。下邳。彭城運糧, 遂斷三郡委輸, 大起浮屠
寺, 上累金盤下爲重樓, 又堂閣周回可客三千許人, 作黃
金塗像衣以錦綵。

"Zuerst brachte Tso Jung in der gleichen Präfektur (Tan-yang) einige hundert Mann zusammen und suchte beim (Gouverneur T'ao) Ch'ien Unterstützung. Tao Ch'ien befahl ihm, die Lebensmitteltransporte in den Präfekturen Kuang-ling, Hsia-ch'iu und P'eng-ch'êng zu kontrollieren. Darauf schnitt er die ihm anvertrauten Transporte ab und baute einen grossen buddhistischen Tempel. Oben wurden goldene Bretter²⁴ an einander gereiht und unten befanden sich Stockwerke, auf den Estraden ringsum konnten etwa 3000 Menschen Platz finden. Man stellte eine mit Gold beklebte Statue her und bekleidete sie mit Brokat."

Dieselbe Geschichte berichtet auch das Wu-chih (Kap. 4, S. 1b) mit einer kleinen Variante:

以銅爲人黃金塗身。

²⁴ Das ist das im Sanskrit "dharma-cakra" genannte Rad, das ein Symbol für die Ausbreitung der Buddha-Lehre ist.

“Aus Kupfer wurde eine menschliche (Figur) hergestellt und deren Körper mit *Gold beklebt*.”

Der japanische Gelehrte Ono hat eingehend geschildert, wie eine buddhistische Statue aus Stein angefertigt wurde:¹⁵

“Die Buddha-Statue wurde zuerst poliert und dann mit Blattgold bedeckt. Vor dem Polieren, Vergolden oder Färben wurden alle Unebenheiten mit einer Tonpaste ausgeglichen. Je nach der Qualität des Steins wurde das Blattgold direkt auf den Stein gelegt oder aber, und dies war häufig der Fall, wurden zuerst Lehm und Kalk auf die Grundform geschmiert. In besonderen Fällen wurden je nach der Güte des Kunstwerkes Papier oder Hanftuch auf die Statue geklebt.... Diese Methode war Gemeingut in Indien, Zentralasien und China. Vergoldung und Färbung waren ebenfalls für die Herstellung allgemein vorgeschrieben. Ohne Rücksicht auf die Grundfigur, d. h. darauf ob diese aus Metall oder anderen Stoffen wie Ton, Lack, Holz, Stein bestand, wurden alle gleichmässig glänzend und prachtvoll dekoriert.”

Wir hören, dass ein Tempel am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts den Namen “Chin-hsiang” (金像寺) erhielt, weil eine goldfarbige Buddha-Statue im Tempel verehrt wurde.¹⁶ Die Herstellung der heutigen Buddha- oder buddhistischen Statuen, die immer noch vergoldet werden, muss auf dieses alte Vorbild zurück gehen.

Aus unserer bisherigen Untersuchung ergibt sich, dass die Kultgegenstände mit der Bezeichnung “Chin”, besonders in der T'ang-Zeit, irgendwie mit dem Buddhismus zusammenhingen. Offenbar geht aber dieser Brauch noch auf ältere Zeiten zurück. Jedenfalls erhält der für die Statuen der Ch'in- und Han-Zeit gebrauchte Ausdruck “Chin-jên” in diesem Zusammenhang eine besondere Nuance.

¹⁵ Vgl. G. Ono (小野玄妙), “Daijō-Bukkyō-Geijutsu-shi no Kenkyū” (大乘佛教藝術史之研究: Studien zur Kunstgeschichte des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus), Tokio 1927, S. 8.

¹⁶ Vgl. Shih-chia fang-chih (釋迦方誌). Taishō-Trip. LI, S. 991 b.

2. Chin-jên zur Ch'in-Zeit.

Obwohl wir oben die Geschichte der von Shih-huang-ti gegossenen zwölf Statuen bis zu ihrer Zerschlagung verfolgt haben, enthielten die Quellen, wie wir sahen, keinen Hinweis darauf, wen eigentlich diese Statuen darstellen. Im das Wu-hsing-chih (五行志) des Han-shu (Kap. 27, 下之上, S. 9b) lesen wir nun:

史記秦始皇帝二十六年有大人，長五丈足履六尺，皆夷服凡十二人見于臨洮。天戒若曰，勿大爲夷狄之行將受其禍，是歲始皇初併六國，反喜以爲瑞，銷天下兵器作金人十二以象之。

“Das Shih-chi (berichtet, wie) im sechsundzwanzigsten Jahre (221 v. Chr.) des Ch'in-Shih-huang-ti Riesen von fünfzig Fuss Höhe und mit sechs Fuss langen Schuhen in barbarischer Gewandung nach Lin-t'ao kamen, zwölf Mann an der Zahl. Der Himmel gab folgende Warnung: 'Betrachtet das nicht zu sehr als barbarische Sitte, sonst wird euch Unheil treffen.' In diesem Jahre vereinigte Shih-huang-ti zum ersten Mal die sechs Lehenstaaten; so sah er darin im Gegenteil ein gutes Omen. Er liess im ganzen Reich die Waffen einschmelzen und daraus zwölf Chin-jên nach dem Vorbild der Riesen herstellen.”

Die Kommentare¹ zu dieser Stelle im Shih-chi (Kap. 6) berichten gleichfalls, das Erscheinen der Riesen in Lin-t'ao habe den Kaiser veranlasst, zwölf Chin-jên giessen zu lassen.

Diese Notiz, die also den Guss der Chin-jên auf das Erscheinen jener zwölf Riesen zurückführt, klingt nicht so überzeugend, dass sie kritiklos hingenommen werden könnte. Es ist natürlich unnötig hier besonders zu betonen, dass es weder Menschen von fünfzig Fuss Höhe noch Schuhe von sechs Fuss Länge geben konnte. Ferner besteht auch kein Grund, warum der Kaiser das Erscheinen dieser nach barbarischer Sitte gekleideten Riesen als ein gutes Vorzeichen betrachtet haben sollte. Im Gegenteil, diese Riesen waren

¹ Dazu gehören das Shih-chi so-yin (史記索隱), das Ying-hsiung-chi (英雄記) sowie das Shui-ching-chu.

ja Barbaren, die von den Chinesen, die von jeher in ihrem Land den Mittelpunkt (中) der ganzen Welt sahen, verachtet wurden. Hätte es sich nur um gewöhnliche Barbaren gehandelt, so wäre es kaum denkbar, dass sie als Glückszeichen betrachtet wurden. Dazu kommt, dass Shih-hung-ti aus dem westlichen China stammte und deshalb in solchen Barbaren sicher nichts Ungewöhnliches sehen konnte. Vielleicht steckt aber in dieser Notiz doch ein geschichtlicher Kern: wir werden darauf noch später im Zusammenhang mit dem Gott Vaiśravaṇa zurückkommen.

Chang Shou-chieh, der Verfasser des Shih-chi-chêng-i, zitiert zu der Stelle, wo Ssü-ma Ch'ien die von Shih-huang-ti gegossenen zwölf Chin-jên erwähnt, eine Notiz aus einem Han-shu bzw. Hou-Han-shu genannten Werk, das ein gewisser Hsieh Ch'êng (謝承) unter der Wu-Dynastie (222–277) verfasst hat.² Diese Notiz lautet:

銅人翁仲其名也。

“Was die Kupfer Menschen betrifft, so lautet ihr Name Wêng-chung.”

Wie ist nun der Name Wêng-chung entstanden? Das Tz'ü-yüan sagt darüber folgendes:³

秦阮翁仲南海人，身長一丈三尺，氣質端勇，異於常人。始皇使將兵守臨洮，聲振匈奴。翁仲死，銅鑄其像，置咸陽宮司馬門外，故後世銅像及石像皆曰翁仲。

“Yüan Wêng-chung in der Ch'in-Zeit stammte aus Nan-hai. Er war dreizehn Fuss hoch; sein Charakter war aufrecht und tapfer, und dadurch unterschied er sich von gewöhnlichen Menschen. Shih-huang-ti sandte ihn an der Spitze von Truppen zur Verteidigung von Lin-t'ao ab. Seine Stimme setzte die Hunnen in Schrecken. Als Wêng-chung starb, goss man eine Kupferstatue von ihm und stellt sie im Palast von Hsien-yang ausserhalb des Ssü-ma-Tores auf. Darum wurden in späterer Zeit die Statuen aus Kupfer und Stein alle 'Wêng-chung' genannt.”

² Vgl. darüber Chavannes, T'oung Pao Bd. VII (1900), S. 213.

³ Vgl. Tz'ü-yüan, unter 翁仲.

Was nun die Glaubwürdigkeit dieser Geschichte betrifft, so ist der Umstand entscheidend, dass sie, wie Fujita zeigt, offenbar aus einem relativ späten Werk vom Ende der Ming-Dynastie stammt.⁴ Fujita geht soweit, dass er die ganze Erzählung für eine Fälschung erklärt: danach hat unter Shih-huang-ti ein General namens Wêng-chung überhaupt nicht gelebt; somit können die Chin-jên des Shih-huang-ti auch keine Statuen des Wêng-chung gewesen sein.

Die Entstehung des Ausdrucks "Wêng-chung" liegt also immer noch im Dunkeln. Dass er aber jedenfalls schon im dritten Jahrhundert n. Chr. zur Bezeichnung von Kupferstatuen diente, ergibt sich aus folgendem Bericht des Wei-lió,⁵ der sich auf eine uns bereits bekannte Tatsache bezieht:

是歲徙長安諸鍾簠. 駱駝銅人. 承露盤, 盤折, 銅人重不可致, 留於霸城, 大發銅, 鑄作銅人二, 號曰翁仲.

"In diesem Jahre (237 n. Chr. wollte der Kaiser Ming der Wei-Dynastie) verschiedene Sockel(?), Kamele (aus Bronze), Tau-Becken, gewölbte Schalen und 'Kupfer-Menschen' von Ch'ang-an (nach Lo-yang) überführen. Da die Kupfer-Menschen zu schwer waren, liess man sie in der Stadt Pa zurück. (Da gerade damals) viel Kupfer produziert wurde, goss man zwei (andere) Kupfer-Menschen, Wêng-chung genannt."

Es handelt sich also bei dieser Geschichte um folgendes: Der Kaiser Ming der Wei-Dynastie wollte im Jahre 237 n. Chr. verschiedene Bronzegegenstände, darunter auch die von Shih-huang-ti gegossenen Kupfer-Statuen, von Ch'ang-an nach seiner Residenz Lo-yang überführen, um seinen Palast oder Garten damit auszuschmücken. Infolge der Schwere

⁴ Nämlich dem Ch'ien-ch'ieh-ch'u-lei-tsi (潛確居類集) des Ch'ên Jên-hsi (陳錫仁); die Varianten der Geschichte, wie sie hier erzählt wird, sind nur geringfügiger Natur. Vgl. T. Fujita, "Über Chung-hu Chin-jên" (鍾鑑金人に就て, Shōko-Kinjin ni tsuite). Festgabe zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Prof. Kanō (狩野教授還曆紀念支那學論叢), Tokio 1928, S. 253 f.

⁵ Vgl. Kap. 3, S. 3a.

der Statuen musste man aber diese unterwegs in Pa zurücklassen. Der Kaiser benutzte nun den Umstand, dass gerade damals viel Kupfer gewonnen wurde, dazu, um die zurückgelassenen Kupfer-Statuen durch zwei neugegossene zu ersetzen.

Während also in der Ch'in- und Han-Zeit die Kupfer-Statuen "Chin-jên" oder "Chin-ti" (Gold-Barbaren) genannt wurden, wird spätestens im dritten Jahrhundert n. Chr. die Bezeichnung "Wêng-chung" dafür gebraucht, deren Ursprung vorderhand nicht weiter aufzuklären ist. Soviel ist aber sicher, dass der legendenhafte General Wêng-chung nicht als Gussmodell der zwölf Chin-jên gedient hat. Vielleicht bringt die folgende Untersuchung über die Chin-jên der Han-Zeit grössere Klarheit.

3. Chin-jên zur Han-Zeit.

Im Jahre 121 v. Chr. brachte den oben (S. 59 f.) angeführten Zeugnissen zufolge der chinesische General Ho Ch'ü-ping von seinem Feldzug gegen die Hunnen die Statue eines Chin-jên, deren sich der Hunnenfürst beim Himmelsopfer bediente, als Kriegstrophäe nach China mit. Es erhebt sich nun die Frage, ob unter dieser Statue tatsächlich eine buddhistische verstanden werden darf, wie verschiedene europäische Gelehrte im Anschluss an Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 (579-645) annahmen.¹ Bereits Pelliot hat nun darauf hingewiesen, dass die Identifizierung der von Ho Ch'ü-ping erbeutete(n) Statue(n) mit buddhistischen schon vor Yen Shih-ku nachzuweisen sei. Das älteste Zeugnis hierfür steht, soviel bisher bekannt ist, an einer Parallelstelle des Han-wu-ku-shi (漢武故事)² und des Wei-shu (Kap. 114, S. 1a):

¹ Während Chavannes, Hirth und Parker die Identifizierung der Chin-jên-Statue des Königs von Hsiu-ch'u mit Buddha ablehnten, haben Pelliot und Franke, die ursprünglich dieselbe Ansicht vertraten, später den buddhistischen Charakter jener Statue(n) nicht ohne weiteres in Abrede gestellt (vgl. Pelliot, Bull. de l'Ec. Fr. d'Extr.-Or. Bd. VI, S. 392 Anm. 3 Schluss und Franke, Ostasiatische Studien 1910 S. 300).

² Leider ist weder der Verfasser noch die Entstehungszeit des Han-wu-ku-shi bekannt; möglicherweise ist der heutige Text in relativ

Han-wu-ku-shi

Wei-shu

昆邪王殺休屠王以其
衆來降，得其金人之神，
置之甘泉宮，金人皆長
丈餘，其祭不用牛羊，
唯燒香禮拜，上使依其
國俗祀之。

漢武元狩中遣霍去病
討匈奴，至皋蘭過居延
斬首大獲。昆邪王殺休
屠王將其衆五萬來降，
獲其金人，帝以爲大神
列置甘泉宮，金人率長
丈餘，不祭祀，但燒香
禮拜而已，此則佛道流
通之漸也。

Von diesem Zitat des Han-wu-ku-shi hat bereits Pelliot eine genaue Übersetzung gegeben,³ sodass wir hier einfach darauf verweisen können. Dagegen bedarf das zweite Zitat, das von Franke⁴ an einigen Stellen missverstanden wurde, einer nochmaligen Wiedergabe:

“In der Periode Yüan-shou des Kaisers Wu der Han-Dynastie wurde Ho Ch'ü-ping zur Bestrafung der Hsing-nu ausgesandt. Er gelangte nach Kao-lan und zog durch Chü-yan, wo er vielen die Köpfe abschlug und grosse Beute machte. Der König (von) K'un-hsieh tötete den König (von) Hsiu-ch'ü und unterwarf sich mit seinem ganzen Volk, 50.000 Köpfen. (Ho Ch'ü-ping) hatte die Chin-jên (von Hsiu-ch'ü) erbeutet; der Kaiser sah darin einen grossen Gott und stellte sie im Palast Kan-ch'üan auf. Die Chin-jên waren durchschnittlich über zehn Fuss hoch. Man brachte ihnen keine Opfer dar, sondern bezeugte ihnen nur durch Verbrennung von Weihrauch Verehrung. Damit begann die Lehre des Buddha sich allmählich auszubreiten.”

später Zeit aus älteren Bruchstücken zusammengestellt. Jedenfalls ist aber das Han-wu-ku-shi vor dem Wei-shu entstanden, dessen Verfasser Wei Shou 魏收 unter der Liang-Dynastie (502–557) lebte. Die obige Stelle des Han-wu-ku-shi habe ich, da das Werk mir nicht zugänglich ist, von Pelliot (a.a.O.) übernommen, der auch seinerseits das Original nicht benutzen konnte, sondern die Stelle aus dem Kommentar des Shih-shuo-hsin-yü 世說新語 zitiert.

³ Pelliot, a.a.O.

⁴ Franke, Beitr. aus chin. Quellen z. Kenntn. d. Türkvölker u. Skythen Zentraasiens, S. 91.

Wie man sieht, berühren sich die beiden Texte gerade in den wesentlichen Punkten so eng, dass entweder beide auf ein und daselbe Original zurückgehen oder das Wei-shu die Stelle direkt aus dem Han-wu-ku-shi übernommen hat.

Es sind vor allem zwei Punkte, zu deren Erörterung diese Texte Anlass geben. Erstens: wenn das Han-wu-ku-shi wirklich die Leseart 金人皆 hat, dann muss die Kriegsbeute des Ho Ch'ü-ping aus mehreren Statuen, nicht bloss aus einer einzigen bestanden haben; offenbar deutet auch das im Wei-shu gebrauchte Wort 率 auf denselben Tatbestand hin. Ferner würde sich aus dem Wortlaut der angeführten Stellen ohne weiteres der buddhistische Charakter⁵ der von Ho Ch'ü-ping erbeuteten Statuen ergeben. Die Frage ist nur, ob hier nicht die Verhältnisse einer Zeit, wo der Buddhismus bereits weite Verbreitung in China gefunden hatte, auf frühere Jahrhunderte übertragen wurden. Für diese Möglichkeit spricht soviel, dass man auch den Angaben der Kommentatoren zum Shih-chi und Han-shu, die unter jenen Chin-jên Buddha-Statuen zu verstehen sind, keinen grossen Wert beimessen darf.

Bei unseren bisherigen Erörterungen haben wir stillschweigend die Voraussetzung gemacht, dass es im 3. und 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bereits buddhistische Statuen gegeben habe. Trifft diese Voraussetzung nun wirklich in vollem Umfang zu? Zur Klärung dieser Frage werden wir uns im folgenden mit der Geschichte der buddhistischen Kunst, sowie sie die Herstellung von Buddha- und anderen buddhistischen Statuen betrifft, näher beschäftigen müssen.

C. Ursprung der buddhistischen Statuen.

a. Die Vor-Äsoka-Zeit.

Im allgemeinen ist man der Ansicht, dass die indische

⁵ Pelliot (a.a.O.) weist in diesem Zusammenhang darauf hin, dass die Angabe, wonach die Chin-jên-Statuen eine Länge von mehr als einem Chang 丈 (=10 Fuss) hatten, für buddhistische Statuen gut passe, da die rituelle Länge von Buddhas Körper ein Chang und 6 Fuss (=16 Fuss) betrage.

Plastik aufs stärkste durch griechische Vorbilder beeinflusst wurde, wofür der Feldzug Alexanders des Grossen nach Indien die Möglichkeit geschaffen hat. Auch die indischen Buddha-Statuen zeigen fast sämtlich griechischen Einfluss; doch geht diese sogenannte "Gāndhāra-Kunst" nicht über Christi Geburt hinauf. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass die erhaltenen Buddha-Statuen mit der Entwicklung des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus eng verbunden sind.

Aus buddhistischen Texten erfahren wir nun, dass es Buddha-Statuen schon zur Buddha-Zeit gegeben habe. Im *Anguttara-nikāya* (增一阿含)¹ findet sich eine Überlieferung, wonach König Udayāna (優填) zur Zeit des Buddha eine fünf Fuss grosse Buddha-Statue aus Sandel-Holz schnitzen liess, und ferner, dass zur gleichen Zeit der König Prasenaḥita (波斯匿) eine fünf Fuss grosse Buddha-Statue aus Gold herstellen liess. Edkins gibt diese Tradition in folgender Weise wieder:²

"In the year 947 B.C., according to the chronology of the Northern school, Buddha went to the Tau-li heaven,³ and remained three months. He sent Manjusiri⁴ to his mother to ask her for a time to bend before the Three Precious Things. She came. Immediately milk flowed from her and reached Buddha's mouth. She came with Manjusiri to the place where Buddha was, who instructed her. She attained the Su-da-wan fruit.⁵ In the third month, when Buddha was about to enter Nirvāṇa, Indra⁶ made three flights of steps. By these Buddha, after saying farewell to his mother, descended to the world, led by a multitude of disciples, and went to Jeta-

¹ Taishō-Trip. II, Nr. 125. Nanjio-Kat. Nr. 543.

² J. Edkins, "Chinese Buddhism", London 1880, p. 48 f.

³ 忉利天. Vgl. Kioto-Trip. XXVII, 4, S. 178 ff.

⁴ 文殊室利 (Mañjuśrī). Dieser Bodhisattva ist nur das Symbol der Weisheit im Buddhismus. Vgl. E.W.B.P. S. 1803.

⁵ 須陀含果 (Śrotapanna-phala). Das ist eine Stufe der Heiligen im Hinayāna-Buddhismus. Edkins's Übersetzung ist nicht richtig.

⁶ Vgl. E.W.B.P. S. 1496, 1693, etc. Indra war eigentlich der Kriegsgott, dessen Symbol der Donner ist; die Buddhisten betrachten ihn aber als Beschützer ihrer Lehre.

vana garden in the city of Shravasti. The King Udayana, of Kaushambi, felt for Buddha a loving admiration, and made a golden image. Hearing that Buddha was about to descend by the steps Indra had made, he came with the image and bowed before Buddha. The image was of "sandal-wood" (chan-tan),⁸ and five feet high. When the King Prasenajit heard of it, he also caused an image to be made of purple gold. It was five feet high. These were the first two images of Buddha known to have been made in the world of Jambudvīpa.⁹ These images radiated light while the sky rained flowers.

"Buddha joined his hand, and said to the image: After my entrance into the state of extinction and salvation, I give into your charge my disciples."

Es ist sehr bemerkenswert, dass Hsüan-tsang diese Buddha-Statuen entweder im Original oder in alten Nachbildungen gesehen hat. Er führt darüber in dem Abschnitt seiner Reisebeschreibung, der von Kauśāmbī (橋賞彌) handelt, folgendes aus:¹⁰

城內故宮中有大精舍，高六十餘尺，有刻檀佛像，上懸石蓋鄢陀衍那王之所作也。靈相間起，神光時照，諸國君王恃力欲舉，雖多大衆莫能轉移，遂圖供養俱言得真，語其源迹，卽此像也。初如來成正覺已，上昇天宮，爲母說法，三月不還，其王思慕，願圖形像，乃請尊者沒特伽羅子，以神通力，接工人，上天宮，親觀妙相，雕刻栴檀，如來自天宮還也，刻檀之像起迎世尊，世尊慰曰，教化勞耶，開導末世，寔比爲冀。

¹²⁴ "In the city, within an old place, there is a large *vihāra* about 60 feet high; in it is a figure of Buddha carved out of sandal-wood, above which is a stone canopy: It is the work of the King U-to-yen-na (Udāyana). By its spiritual qualities (*or*, between its spiritual marks) it

⁷ Vgl. Ōshio's Indien-Landkarte, N. 9.

⁸ 栴檀

⁹ Richtig ist Jambudvīpa, d. h. unsere Welt. Vgl. Kioto-Trip. XXVII, 4, S. 150 cf.

¹⁰ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. LI, S. 898.

¹²² Beal, a.a.O. Bd. I, p. 235 f.

produces a divine light, which from time to time shines forth. The princes of various countries have used their power to carry off this statue, but although many men have tried not all the number could move it. They therefore worship copies of it, and they pretend the likeness is a true one, and this is the original of all such figures.

"When Tathâgata first arrived at a complete enlightenment, he ascended up to heaven to preach the law for the benefit of his mother, and for three months remained absent. This king (i.e., Udâyana), thinking of him with affection, desired to have an image of his person; therefore asked Mudgalyâyanaputra, by his spiritual power, to transport an artist to the heavenly mansions to observe the excellent marks of Buddha's body, and carve a sandal-wood statue. When Tathâgata returned from the heavenly place, the carved figure of sandal-wood rose and saluted the Lord of the World. The Lord then graciously addressed it and said: 'The work expected from you is to toil in the conversion of heretics, and to lead in the way of religion future ages.'"

Im gleichem Werke sagt Hsüan-tsang in dem Abschnitt, der von Śrāvastī (室羅伐悉底) handelt:¹³

城南五六里餘有逝多林，是給孤獨園，勝軍王大臣善施爲佛精舍，昔爲伽藍今已荒廢，東門左右各建石柱高七十餘尺，左柱鑲輪相於其端，右柱刻牛形於其上，並無憂王之所建也，室宇傾圯，唯餘故臺，獨一甌室巍然獨在，中有佛像，昔者如來昇三十三天爲母說法之後，勝軍王聞之愛王刻檀佛像乃造此像。

¹⁴"To the south of the city 5 or 6 li is Jêtavana. This is where Anâthapiṇḍaka (Ki-ku-to) (*otherwise called*) Sudatta, the chief minister of Prasênajita-râja, built for Buddha a *vihâra*. There was a saṅghârâma here formerly, but now all is in ruins (*desert*).

"On the left and right of the eastern gate has been built a pillar about 70 feet high; on the left hand pillar is engraved on the vase a wheel; on the right-hand pillar the figure of an ox is on the top. Both columns were

¹³ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. LI, S. 899.

¹⁴ Beal, a.a.O. Bd. II, p. 4.

erected by Asôkarâja. The residence (*of the priests*) are wholly destroyed; the foundations only remain, with the exception of one solitary brick building, which stands alone in the midst of the ruins, and contains an image of Buddha.

"Formerly, when Tathâgata ascended into Trâyas-trimśas heaven to preach for the benefit of his mother, Prasênajita-râja, having heard that the King Udayâna had caused a sandal-wood figure of Buddha to be carved, also caused this image to be made."

Ferner heisst es dort im Abschnitt über das Land Khotan:¹⁵

戰地東行三十餘里至婁摩城，有刻檀立佛像，高二丈餘，甚多靈應，時燭光明，凡有疾病隨其痛所，金薄帖像即時痊復，虛心請願多亦遂求，聞之土俗自此像共佛在世憐賞美國鄔陀衍那王所作也。

¹⁶ "After going east 30 li or so from the field of battle we come to the town of Pîma (Pi-mo). Here there is a figure of Buddha in a standing position made of sandal-wood. The figure is about twenty feet high. It works many miracles and reflects constantly a bright light. Those who have any disease, according to the part affected, cover the corresponding place on the statue with gold-leaf, and forthwith they are healed. People who address prayers to it with a sincere heart mostly obtain their wishes. This is what the natives say: This image in old days when Buddha was alive was made by Udâyana (U-toyen-na), king of Kauśâmbî (Kiao-shang-mi)"

Diese sogenannten Statuen des Udâyana haben nicht bloss in Indien sondern auch in China und Japan eine grosse religiöse Rolle gespielt, wie wir bis auf den heutigen Tag sehen.

Wir müssen an dieser Stelle noch auf die obige Angabe des Ânguttara-nikâya, wonach die Könige Udâyana und Prasenajit bereits zu Lebzeiten des Buddha Statuen von ihm

¹⁵ Vgl. Taishô-Trip. LI, S. 945.

¹⁶ Beal, a.a.O. Bd. II, p. 322.

hätten herstellen lassen, kurz eingehen. Hayashiya hat nämlich die Behauptung aufgestellt, diese Stelle aus dem *Anguttara-nikāya* müsse spätestens 2-300 Jahre nach Buddha's Tod entstanden sein und somit müssen auch die ältesten Buddha-Statuen jener Zeit angehören.

Diese Annahme steht aber schon deshalb auf schwachen Füßen, weil der Pali-Text, der bei Altersfragen immer der massgebende sein muss, die auf die Errichtung von Buddha-Statuen bezugliche Stelle des *Anguttara-nikāya* nicht enthält. Die chinesische Übersetzung¹⁸ ist bekanntlich erst in relativ später Zeit auf Grund des Sanskrit-Kanons erfolgt und ist für solche Frage nicht entscheidend. Damit verlieren auch die Nachrichten über Buddha-Statuen in der Zeit vor Aśoka ihre Glaubwürdigkeit.

b. Aśoka-Zeit.

Auch für die Aśoka-Zeit bringen die Reisebeschreibungen des Hsüan-tsang und Fa-hsien gewisse Angaben über Buddha-Statuen. So berichtet Hsüan-tsang in dem von Udyāna (烏苾那) handelnden Abschnitt:¹⁹

多出黃金及鬱金香，達麗川中大伽藍側，有刻木慈氏菩薩像，金色晃晃靈鑒潛通，高百餘尺，末田地迦阿羅漢之所造也，羅漢以神通力，携引匠人，升觀史多天親觀妙相三返之後，功乃畢焉。

²⁰ "This country produces much gold and scented turmeric. By the side of a great saṅghārāma in this valley of Ta-li-lo is a great figure of Maitrēya Bôdhisattva, carved out of wood. It is golden colour, and very dazzling in appearance, and possesses a secret spiritual power (of miracle). It is about 100 feet high, and is the work of the Arhat Madhyāntika. This saint by his spiritual power caused a sculptor to ascend into the Tushita (Tu-si-to) heaven, that he might see for himself the marks and signs

¹⁷ Vgl. Zeitschrift, "Gendai-Bukkyō" Bd. LVII, S. 60.

¹⁸ 優填王作佛形像經.

¹⁹ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. LI, S. 884.

²⁰ Beal, a.a.O. Bd. I, p. 134.

(on the person of Maitrêya); this he did three times, till his task was finished."

Wir erinnern uns, dass der Arhat "Madhyântika" einer von Aśoka's Missionaren war. Fa-hsien berichtet auch dieselbe Überlieferung, nur hat er diesem Arhat keinen bestimmten Namen gegeben. Fa-hsien sagt ferner:²¹

王益敬信即於階上起精舍，堂中階作丈六立像。

²²"The king (Aśoka), deriving from this an increase of faith and reverence, forthwith built over the ladders a *vihāra*, and facing the middle flight he placed a standing figure (of Buddha) sixteen feet high."

Auf solche von Aśoka errichteten Buddha-Statuen spielt auch der buddhistische Pilger Wu-k'ung (751-790) in seiner Reisebeschreibung nach Indien (悟空入竺記) an. In dem Abschnitt über Kaśmīr (迦濕彌羅) lesen wir dort:²³

此國伽藍三百餘處，靈塔瑞像其數頗多，或阿育王及五百羅漢之所建立也。

"In diesem Lande gibt es mehr als 300 Tempel. Die Zahl der heiligen Stūpas und wundertätigen Statuen ist ziemlich gross. Manche davon sind von dem König Aśoka oder den 500 Arhats errichtet worden."²⁴

Wir finden ausserdem in buddhistischen Werken noch zahlreiche Überlieferungen, nach denen Aśoka und andere Anhänger des Buddhismus damals verschiedene Statuen hergestellt hätten. Da könnte nun jemand die Frage aufwerfen: Warum sind uns keine Überreste solcher Buddha-Statuen aus der Aśoka-Zeit erhalten? Diese Tatsache ist meiner Ansicht nach dadurch begründet, dass in Zeiten, wo eine Reaktion gegen den Buddhismus einsetzte, wiederholt Versuche gemacht wurden, alles was mit jener Religion

²¹ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. LI, S. 858.

²² Beal, a.a.O. Bd. I, p. XL.

²³ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. LI, S. 900.

²⁴ Vgl. S. Lévi und Chavannes, L'itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong im Journ. Asiat. Sep.-Oct. 1895, p. 355.

zusammenhing zu vernichten. So gab z. B. der König Puśyamitra, der ursprünglich einem Urenkel des Aśoka als General gedient hatte, den Befehl zur Zerstörung aller buddhistischen Gegenstände. Das Śāriputra-paripṛccha-sūtra (舍利弗問經) erzählt hierüber:²⁵

有孔雀輸柯王世弘經律，其孫弗沙密多羅嗣正王位——諸寺塔八百餘處，諸清信士舉聲號叫悲哭懊惱，王取囚繫加其鞭罰，五百羅漢登南山獲免。

“Es gab einen König namens Aśoka aus der Maurya-Dynastie. Er hatte Sūtra und Vinaya verbreitert. Sein Enkel hiess Puśyamitra und bestieg auch den Thron. Er zerstörte mehr als achthundert Tempel und Stūpas. Die Anhänger schrieten laut und brachen in bittere Tränen aus. Der König warf sie gefesselt ins Gefängnis und bestrafte sie mit der Peitsche. Fünfhundert Arhats stiegen auf einen Berg im Süden, um den Fesseln zu entinnen.”

Ein zweites Beispiel einer solchen zerstörenden Tätigkeit bringt Hsüan-tsang in seiner Beschreibung des Landes Magadha (摩揭陀):²⁶

近設賞迦王者信受外道，毀嫉佛法壞僧伽藍，伐菩提樹掘至泉水不盡根定，乃縱火焚燒，以甘蔗汁沃之，欲其爛絕滅遺萌，數月後摩揭陀國補剌祭伐摩王無憂王末孫也，聞而歎曰，慧日已隱唯餘佛樹，今復摧殘，生靈何覩。

²⁷“In late times Śaśānka-rāja (She-shang-kia), being a believer in heresy, slandered the religion of Buddha, and through envy destroyed the vonvents and cut down the *Bôdhi* tree, digging it up to the very springs of the earth; but yet he did not get to the bottom of the roots. Then he burnt it with fire and sprinkled it with the juice of the sugar-cane, desiring to destroy it entirely, and not leave a trace of it behind.

“Some months afterwards, the king of Magadha, called Pūrṇavarmā (Pu-la-na-fa-mo), that last of the race

²⁵ Vgl. Tokio-Trip. 寒 Serie, S. 18 b.

²⁶ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. LI, S. 915.

²⁷ Beal, a.a.O. Bd. II, p. 118.

of Aśôka-râja, hearing of it, sighed and said, 'The sun of wisdom having set, nothing is left but the tree of Buddha, and this they now have destroyed, what source of spiritual life is there now?'

c. Zusammenfassung und Kritik.

Was den Ursprung der Buddha-Statuen sowie buddhistischen Statuen betrifft, so soll es solche nach den angeführten Zeugnissen schon zu Lebzeiten Buddha's gegeben haben. Neuerdings hat Matsumoto den Ursprung der indischen Bildhauerkunst im allgemeinen sehr früh angesetzt, und zwar stützt er sich dabei auf eine Stelle des spätestens um 500 v. Chr. entstandenen Brhad-âraṇyakôpaniṣad, die seiner Meinung nach folgendermassen zu interpretieren ist:¹ "Metallarbeiter verstehen es, neue und schöne Statuen aus alten Materialien zu giessen." Dazu bemerkte er:

"Trotzdem man den künstlerischen Wert dieser Arbeiten der damaligen Zeit heute nicht mehr beurteilen kann, so weiss man doch, dass die Metallplastik damals sehr entwickelt war und dass verschiedene Statuen gegossen wurden. Wenn es gegossene Statuen gab, so müssen auch Statuen aus Holz etc. hergestellt worden sein."

Matsumoto gibt hier das Wort "peśas-kārī" mit "Metallarbeiter" wieder. Es ist aber fraglich, ob diese Interpretation richtig ist; die europäischen Sanskritisten übersetzen das Wort in ganz verschiedener Weise: Böhtlingk mit "Stickerin", Deussen mit "Goldschmied", Hertel mit "Erzbildner". Diese Angabe ist also viel zu unbestimmt als dass wir daraus irgendwelche sicheren Schlüsse über das Alter der indischen Bildhauerkunst, geschweige denn über das frühe Vorhandensein von Buddha-Statuen ziehen könnten. Tatsächlich geht auch Matsumoto's Meinung

¹ B. Matsumoto (Indo no Bukkyô-Bijutsu 印度之佛教美術 od. Buddhistische Kunst in Indien, Tokio 1919, S. 194) gibt nicht genau an, welche Stelle des Brhad-âraṇyakôpaniṣad er im Sinne hat; offenbar handelt es sich aber um folgende (IV, 4, 5): tad yathâ peśas-kārī peśaso mâtṛām apādāyān navataram kalyāṇataram rūpam tanute,.....

dahin, dass Statuen von Buddhas und Bodhisattvas erst um Christi Geburt in grosser Zahl hergestellt wurden und zwar unter dem Einfluss der griechisch-römischen Kunst.² Dieselbe Ansicht vertritt auch G. Ono, der die Schaffung von Buddha-Statuen mit der Entwicklung des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus unter Kaniska (1 Jahrhundert n. Chr.) in ursächlichen Zusammenhang bringt.³

Müssen wir also annehmen, dass man Buddha-Statuen oder buddhistische Statuen vor und unter Aśoka überhaupt nicht gekannt hat? Wie ich glaube, hat es wenigstens buddhistische Statuen, wenn auch keine von Buddha selbst, zur Aśoka-Zeit gegeben. Foucher, der beste Kenner der buddhistischen Kunstgeschichte, steht gleichfalls auf dem Standpunkt, dass die Buddha-Statue selbst erst eine Schöpfung der Gāndhāra-Kunst gewesen sei; dagegen habe bereits die alte Schule Darstellungen von Göttern und Dämonen gekannt:⁴

“En face de l'ancienne école, caractérisée par l'absence de la figure du Maître, l'école du Gandhāra a comme marque essentielle de fabrique, son image indo-grecque du Buddha.....

“D'autre part, en dehors du type du Buddha et subsidiairement, du moins l'art indo-grec du Nord-Quest n' a presque rien ajouté au personnel de l'iconographie bouddhique: car les génies, les fées, les dieux figuraient déjà dans l'ancienne école et l' on pourrait à la rigueur dire qu'il en était de même du Bodhisattva,.....”.

Was diese älteren Darstellungen von Göttern betrifft, so sagt hierüber Matsumoto folgendes:⁵

“Es gibt drei oder vier menschliche Figuren, die von Gelehrten als Überreste der Aśoka-Zeit anerkannt werden. Die grösste von diesen Statuen, die wohl den Kubera darstellen soll, wurde im Mathūra-Distrikt ausgegraben.

² Matsumoto, a.a.O. S. 199.

³ G. Ono, a.a.O. (Das Stud. d. Kunstges. d. Mahā.-Bud.), S. 2 f.

⁴ Foucher, “L'Art Bouddhique de l'Inde”, Tokio 1928, p. 48 f.

⁵ Matsumoto, a.a.O. S. 204.

Diese grosse Statue ist mit dem Sockel zusammen acht Fuss und acht Zoll gross. Die Steinart ist dieselbe, wie wir sie bei den Pfeilern des Könige Aśoka finden..... Auch die Inschrift soll aus der Zeit Aśoka's stammen."

Unter diesem "Kubera" ist der Gott Vaiśravaṇa zu verstehen. Es scheint mir, dass dieser Gott zur Aśoka-Zeit als Verwalter des Reichtums und Beschützer des Buddhismus verehrt wurde und die Namen: Kubera und Vaiśravaṇa bei den damaligen Buddhisten gleich gebraucht wurden; die beiden Namen finden sich nämlich sowohl in relativ frühen als auch in späteren buddhistischen Texten häufig unterschiedlos gebraucht.⁶

Es ist nun sehr merkwürdig, dass eigentliche Buddha-Statuen in der Vor-Gāndhāra-Kunst noch nicht hergestellt wurden, während die Darstellungen von Bodhisattvas und anderen Göttern bereits unter Aśoka bekannt waren. Matsumoto führt zur Erklärung dieser Tatsache zwei Gründe an.⁷ 1) Buddha war ein übermenschliches Wesen, das als Menschenfigur nicht nachgebildet werden durfte, da dies gegen die Heiligkeit Buddha's verstossen hätte. Dieser Grund wird auch von anderen Forschern angenommen. 2) Die Aśoka-Zeit stand der Lebenszeit Buddha's noch relativ nahe; die Erzählungen und Traditionen über den Buddha-Körper waren also noch ziemlich jung, daher war das Verlangen der Anhänger noch nicht auf die körperlich Nachbildung von Buddha gerichtet. Sie begnügten sich vielmehr mit solchen Symbolen, wie der Asche, oder der Fusspur des Buddha (auf Stein) oder Rad, Bodhi-Baum, Schirm.

Was die Berichte des Hsüan-tsang und Fa-hsien über angebliche Buddha-Statuen aus der Aśoka-Zeit betrifft, so sind diese Zeugnisse nicht beweiskräftig, denn sie beruhen offensichtlich auf der Tendenz, alles Bedeutende dem Aśoka oder seinen Zeitgenossen zuzuschreiben.

⁶ Für den Gebrauch des Namens Kubera statt Vaiśravaṇa vgl. z. B. Taishō-Trip. I, S. 150 und die Dhāraṇīs über den Gott Vaiśravaṇa in Taishō-Trip. XXI.

⁷ Matsumoto, a.a.O. S. 215 f.

Wenn also Hayashiya die der Ch'in-Zeit angehörenden zwölf Chin-jên mit Buddha-Statuen identifizieren will, so fehlen hierfür die geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen. Wenn andererseits Franke und Pelliot dazu neigen, den buddhistischen Charakter der von Ho Ch'ü-ping erbeuteten Statue(n) anzuerkennen, so lässt sich nach dem Gesagten diese Behauptung nur dann aufrecht erhalten, wenn darunter Statuen buddhistischen Charakters, aber keine von Buddha selbst verstanden werden.

D. Wen stellen die Chin-jên-Statuen dar?

a. *Chin-jên war die Statue des*

P'i-sha-mên (Vaiśravaṇa).

Nach dem vorausgegangenen können wir vielleicht die Art des Chin-jên näher bestimmen. Meines Erachtens nach sind die Chin-jên der Ch'in-Zeit Statuen des P'i-sha-mên (毘沙門) oder "Vaiśravaṇa" oder "Dhanada" gewesen. Für die Richtigkeit dieser Annahme glaube ich eine Reihe von Beweisgründen beibringen zu können.

Wir erinnern uns an die alte in Khotan vorhandene Tradition, wonach der Gott Vaiśravaṇa den Sohn des Aśoka zum Kaiser von China brachte. Der geschichtliche Kern, der in dieser Tradition steht, ist etwa folgender: Aśoka's Sohn Kuṇāla, ein Anhänger des Buddhismus und damaliger Beherrscher von Khotan, hat die Statue des Vaiśravaṇa nach Lin-t'ao im Nordwesten von China geschickt. Nach indischer Vorstellung ist Vaiśravaṇa als Welthüter (lokapāla) zugleich der Schutzgott von Fürsten und Ländern.

Es ist selbstverständlich, dass sich ein Fürst, besonders wenn er ein gläubiger Buddhist ist, gerade mit diesem Gott fest verbunden fühlt. Seit jeher heisst es nun, dass der Gott Vaiśravaṇa über die nördliche Welt seine schützende Hand hält; zu dieser Sphäre gehört der Himālaya und das von König Kuṇāla beherrschte Gebiet nördlich davon. Hierin liegt wohl auch der Grund für die Tradition, wonach

Kuṇāla mit Vaiśravaṇa sein Reich in Khotan begründete. Vaiśravaṇa als Beschützer des Buddhismus und Wächter des Nord-Landes muss von Kuṇāla zur Verbreitung des Buddhismus und zum Schutz des Reiches nach Khotan mitgeführt worden sein. Welche Eigenschaften hat nun der Gott Vaiśravaṇa?

Es gibt in Indien eine Anschauung, nach der die grossen vier Himmelsherren (四大天王) oder "catur-mahārāja-kāyikā-devāḥ" die ganze Welt behüten.¹ Ihre Namen haben in älterer Zeit öfters gewechselt, während sie im Buddhismus von Anfang an dieselben blieben und hier folgende Namen tragen:

1. Dhṛtarāṣṭra (持國天), Beherrscher der östlichen Welt.
2. Virūpakṣa (廣目天), Beherrscher der westlichen Welt.
3. Virūdhaka (增上天), Beherrscher der südlichen Welt.
4. Vaiśravaṇa (多聞天), Beherrscher der nördlichen Welt.

Unter ihnen war der letzte Gott ursprünglich, d. h. in der Veda-Zeit, ein Dämon, der über die Unter-Welt gebot. Später wurde er durch seine Kasteiungen (tapas) zu einem Glücksgott und erhielt den Namen "Kubera" (Gott des Reichtums). Die Bezeichnung Vaiśravaṇa ist ein Patronymum von seinem Vater "Viśravaṇa"; im chinesischen Buddhismus wird er "To-wen-t'ien" (多聞天), genannt. Wir lesen in dem bekannten Gedicht "Megha-dūta" (Wolken-Bote) von Kālidāsa, dass ein Yakṣa aus seiner Verbannung wieder in seine Heimat Alakā² zurückkehren wünschte. Yakṣas befinden sich im Gefolge des Vaiśravaṇa und Alakā ist im Gebiet des Nord-Himālaya gelegen. Diese Tradition

¹ Vgl. T. Kimura (木村泰賢), "Indo-Tetsugaku-Bukkyō-Shisō-shi 印度哲學佛教思想史 (Entwicklungsgeschichte der Philosophie und des Buddhismus in Indien), Tokio 1930, S. 80.

² Vgl. Kālidāsa, "Megha-dūta", Vers 63 ff.

geht schon auf das Mahā-bhārata zurück, später wurde Vaiśravaṇa in das buddhistische Pantheon aufgenommen. Ausdrücklich bezeichnet ihn aber erst das Suvarṇa-prabhāsōttama-rājendra-sūtra (金光明最勝王經)³ als Schutzgott der Fürsten und ihrer Reiche. Dieses Sūtra bildet zusammen mit dem Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra und dem "Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra on a benevolent king protecting his country" (仁王護國般若波羅密多經)⁴ eine Reihe von heiligen Texten, die das "Reich beschützen" (護國經). Zur Verlesung dieser Texte wurden auf kaiserlichen Befehl in China und Japan besondere "Schutztempel des Reiches" (鎮護國家之道場) errichtet. Das Suvarṇa-prabhāsōttama-rājendra-sūtra genoss bei allen buddhistischen Fürsten und Herrschern in ganz Ostasien hohe Verehrung; die Länder dort gehören ja zu der nördlichen Hemisphäre und erfreuen sich daher des besonderen Schutzes des Gottes Vaiśravaṇa. Es liegt nun durchaus nahe anzunehmen, dass Shi-huang-ti der Ch'in-Dynastie die in Lin-t'ao erschienenen Riesen als seine Schutzgötter betrachtete und deshalb ihr Auftreten für ein glückliches Omen hielt, zumal er gerade in jenem Jahre das ganze Reich unter seiner Herrschaft vereinigt hatte.

Was sagt nun das Suvarṇa-prabhāsōttama-rājendra-sūtra über die Beziehungen zwischen den Fürsten und den vier Weltwächtern?

³世尊我等四王與二十八部，藥叉大將并無量百千藥叉以淨天眼過於世人觀察擁護此瞻部州，世尊，以此因緣我等諸王名護世者，又復於此州中若有國王被怨賊常來侵擾及多饑饉，疾疫流行無量百千災厄之事，世尊，我等四王於此金光明最勝王經恭敬供養，若有苾芻法師受持讀誦，我等四王共往覺悟勸請其人時，彼法師由我神通覺悟力故往彼國界廣宣流布是金光明微妙經典，經力故令彼無量百千哀惱，災厄之事悉皆除遣，世尊，若諸人王於諸國內，有持

³ Kioto-Trip. IX, 1. Nanjio-Kat. Nr. 17.

⁴ Kioto-Trip. V, 6. Nanjio-Kat. Nr. 17.

⁵ Kioto-Trip. IX, 1, S. 20b f.

是經苾芻法師至彼國時，當知此經亦至其國，世尊，時彼國王應往法師處，聽其所說，聞已歡喜於彼法師恭敬供養，深心擁護令無憂惱，演說此經利益一切，世尊，以是故我等四王皆一心護是人王及國人民令離災患常得安穩，世尊，若有苾芻，苾芻尼，鄔波索迦，鄔波斯迦持此經者，時彼人王隨其所須供給供養令無乏少，我等四王令彼國主及以國人悉皆安穩遠離災患，世尊，若有受持讀誦是經典者，人王於此供養恭敬尊重讚嘆，我等當令彼王於諸王中恭敬尊重最第一，諸餘國王共所稱嘆。

“O Erhabener, wir vier Fürsten zusammen mit 28 Fürsten, Generälen der Yakṣas und unzähligen Yakṣas schützen mit reinen himmlischen Augen, die die der Menschen übertreffen, dieses Jambudvīpa. O Erhabener, aus diesem Grund werden wir Fürsten Weltschützer genannt. Wenn es in dieser Welt Fürsten gibt, deren Länder immer wieder durch feindliche Rebellen heimgesucht werden und über die sich Hungersnöte und Epidemien ergießen, bei derartigen hunderttausendfältigen Nöten gehen wir vier Fürsten, die dieses Suvarāṇa-prabhāsōttama-rājendra-sūtra ehrerbietig verehren, zu einem Priester, der es bei sich aufbewahrt und verliert, und erleuchten ihn. Wenn wir ihn ersuchen, geht er durch die Kraft unseres Geistes und unserer Erleuchtung in solche Reiche und verbreitet dort den heiligen Text des Suvarāṇa-prabhāsōttama-rājendra-sūtra; dann werden die hunderttausendfältigen Trübsale und Nöte weichen. O Erhabener, wenn ein Priester, der dieses Sūtra in sich aufbewahrt, in das Reich eines Fürsten gelangt, dann gelangt auch das Sūtra in dieses Reich. O Erhabener, wenn der Fürst zum Priester geht, um seine Lehre zu hören, ihn mit Freuden verehrt, Almosen gibt und ihn aufrichtig in seinen Schutz nimmt, damit er sorgenfrei dieses Sūtra verbreiten und alle Lebewesen bekehren kann, dann lassen wir vier Fürsten insgesamt den Fürsten und sein Reich frei von Sorge und Not sein und gewähren ihm Frieden. O Erhabener, wenn der Fürst die Bedürfnisse der Priester, Nonnen, Upāsakas und Upāsikas, die dieses Sūtra in sich bewahren, befriedigt, ihnen spendet und sie keinen Mangel leiden lässt, dann gewähren wir vier Fürsten ihm und seinem Volk

Frieden und befreien sie von Not und Krankheit. O Erhabener, den Fürsten, der dieses Sūtra bei sich trägt und verliest, der es ehrerbietig verehrt, hochschätzt und preist, ihn lassen wir unter den Fürsten am höchsten verehren und preisen, und die Herrscher aller Länder loben ihn."

Ferner heisst es in diesem Sūtra:⁶

世尊，於未來世若有人王，樂聽如是金光明經爲欲擁護自身，后妃，王子乃至內宮諸采女等城邑，宮殿，皆得第一不可思議最上歡喜，寂靜安樂，於現世中王位尊高自在，昌盛常得增長，復欲攝受無量無邊難思福聚於自國土無怨敵及諸憂惱災厄事者，世尊，如是人王不應放逸，令心散亂，當生恭敬至誠殷重聽受如是最勝王經。

"O Erhabner, wenn ein Fürst mit Freuden dem Suvarṇa-prabhāsōttama-rājendra-sūtra zuhört, um sich selbst, der Herrscherin, den Prinzen, Prinzessinen und Hofdamen, seinen Schlössern und Palästen Schutz zu verschaffen, dann erreicht er allerhöchste, unsagbar reine Freude, Frieden und Glückseligkeit und während seines Lebens wird seine hocherhabene Stellung als Herrscher unbeschränkt, blühend und gedeihend sein. Wenn ein Fürst die unermessliche und grenzenlose Summe alles Glücks zu erlangen wünscht und feindliche Rebellen, Sorge und Not von seinem Reiche fernhalten will, dann muss er, o Erhabener, ohne Laster und ohne sein Herz zu verwirren, an Innigkeit der Verehrung zunehmen und aufrichtig mit aller Hochachtung dieses Sūtra anhören."

Dieses Sūtra erklärt nicht nur die Beziehungen zwischen dem Sūtra selbst, den vier Welthütern und Fürsten, sondern enthält auch eine Art Staatslehre für die Herrscher; immer lesen wir von dem manigfachen Schutz, den diese vier Weltwächter den Fürsten und Völkern gewähren. Ueberall ist aber Vaiśravaṇa die Hauptperson unter den vier Welthütern.

Nach der nepalischen Tradition entstand dieses Sūtra im dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr.,⁷ es muss also schon zur

⁶ Vgl. a.a.O. S. 21b.

⁷ Vgl. E.W.B.P. S. 884.

Asoka-Zeit existiert haben. Fraglich bleibt allerdings, ob damals schon der dem jetzigen Sūtra entsprechenden Originaltext vorhanden war. Wir erfahren, dass der mit den Abgesandten des Kaisers Ming von Indien nach China gekommene Priester Kāśyapa-mātāṅga in seiner Heimat bereits dieses Sūtra gepredigt habe.⁸ So liegt die Annahme nahe, dass die Entstehung dieses Sūtra in die vorchristliche Zeit fällt. Jedenfalls gehört die Verehrung des Vaiśravaṇa, der bereits in der Mahābhārata-Zeit als Welthüter und zwar der nördlichen Sphäre eine Rolle spielte, einer früheren Zeit an. Tatsache ist, dass Vaiśravaṇa in engeren Beziehungen zu Fürsten und Kriegern stand. Die Angabe des Wu-hsin-chih und anderer Quellen, wonach Shi-huang-ti das Erscheinen der Barbaren in Lin-t'ao für ein gutes Omen hielt, beruht meines Erachtens darauf, dass damals eine Statue des Vaiśravaṇa aus Zentralasien nach China gebracht wurde und dann als Modell für die Darstellung der Chin-jên diente.

Wie dachte man sich die äussere Erscheinung des Vaiśravaṇa? Im "P'i-sha-mên-t'ien sui-chün hu-fa chên-yen" (北方毘沙門隨軍護法真言) d. h. die Dhāraṇī zum Vaiśravaṇa im Norden, der mit seiner Armee den Dharma schützt" wird seine Erscheinung folgendermassen geschildert:⁹

七寶莊嚴衣甲，左手執戟腰，右手托腰上，其神脚下作二夜叉鬼並作黑色，其毗沙門面作其可畏形，惡眼視一切鬼神勢，其塔奉釋迦牟尼佛。

"Er hat einen Panzer an, der mit den sieben Kostbarkeiten verziert ist, in der linken Hand hält er eine Keule, während er die rechte Hand in die Seite stemmt. Unter seinen Füßen sind zwei Yakṣa-Dämonen in schwarzer Farbe angebracht. Das Gesicht des Vaiśravaṇa ist schreckenerregend dargestellt. Mit seinen grimmigen

⁸ Vgl. Li-tai san-pao-chi (Taishō-Trip. XLIX, S. 49c).

⁹ Vgl. Taishō-Trip. XXI, S. 884c. Fast die gleiche Schilderung findet man noch in verschiedenen Texten, die wahrscheinlich alle auf das oben erwähnte Werk zurückgehen, vgl. z. B. Taishō-Trip. XXI, S. 219b, 232b usw.

Augen fixiert er die Scharen der Dämonen. In seiner Pagode wird der Śākya-Buddha verehrt."

Das Bukkyō-Daijiten beschreibt seine Erscheinung so:¹⁰

"Er bekleidet seinen Körper mit einem Panzer und trägt auf der Handfläche der linken Hand eine Pagode, während er in der rechten Hand eine Keule hält. Sein Körper ist goldfarbig."

In der hier beschriebenen Weise wurde Vaiśravaṇa erst später dargestellt; ursprünglich haben wahrscheinlich die Pagode und die Yakṣa-Dämonen gefehlt, und es war lediglich eine gepanzerte Statue mit einer Keule in der Hand. Der Ausdruck 戟槍 ist offenbar eine Uebersetzung des Sanskritwortes "vajra", das nach dem "Sanskrit-English Dictionary" von M.M. William folgende Bedeutung hat:¹¹

"Vajra: The hard or mighty one, a thunderbolt (esp. that of Indra, said to have been formed out of the bones of the Rishi Dhadīca or Dhadhīci [q. v.], and shaped like a circular discus, or in later times regarded as having the form two transvers bolts crossing each other thus X; sometimes applied to similar weapons used by various gods or super-human beings, or to any mythical weapon destructive of spells or charms, also to *Manyu*, "wrath", RV., or with [apām] to a jet or water, AV. &c. &c.; also applied to a thunderbolt in general or to the lightning evolved from the centrifugal energy of the circular thunderbolt of Indra when launched at a foe; in Northern Buddhist countries is shaped like a dumb-bell and called Dorje.....".

Im Chinesischen wird das Wort *vajra* gewöhnlich 金剛杵¹² oder 金剛杖¹³ (Diamant-Keule) wiedergegeben. So werden übermenschliche starke Männer 金剛薩埵¹⁴ oder

¹⁰ T. Oda (織田得能), "Bukkyō-Daijiten" 佛教大辭典 (Enzyklopädisches Wörterbuch des Buddhismus), Tokio 1914, S. 935.

¹¹ Sir Monier Monierm, "Sanskrit-English Dictionary", Oxford 1899, p. 913.

¹² Vgl. Oda, a.a.O. S. 485.

¹³ Vgl. Oda, a.a.O. S. 490.

¹⁴ Vgl. Oda, a.a.O. S. 481.

金剛衆¹⁵ oder 金剛力士¹⁶ (starke Ringkämpfer) oder 金剛神¹⁷ (starke Götter) etc. genannt. Auch Ausdrücke wie, 金剛身,¹⁸ 金剛密迹,²⁰ 金剛手,¹⁹ 執金剛²¹ gehören hierher; damit werden übermenschliche Personen bezeichnet, die Vajra-Waffen tragen. Besonders bemerkenswert ist nun, dass alle übermenschlichen Personen oder Götter, die in ihren Händen Vajra-Waffen halten, buddhistische Schutzgötter sind.

In diesem Zusammenhang fällt nun vielleicht auf eine Stelle des Li-tai san-pao chi ein besonderes Licht. Es handelt sich dabei um die—weiter unten noch ausführlicher erörterte—Ueberlieferung, der zufolge die ersten buddhistischen Sūtras im 29. Jahre des Shi-huang-ti, also vier Jahre nach dem Guss der Chin-jên, nach China gelangten. Die Stelle lautet dort:²²

又始皇時，有沙門釋利房等十八賢者賣經化。始皇弗從，遂禁利房等，夜有金剛丈六人來，破獄出之，始皇稽首謝焉。

“Zur Zeit des Shi-huang-ti kamen ferner der Śrāmaṇa Shih-li Fang u. a., zusammen achtzehn Weise, und brachten Sūtras zur Bekehrung mit. Shi-huang-ti schenkte ihnen aber kein gehör, sondern setzte Shih-li Fang und die anderen gefangen. Um Mitternacht kam ein starker Mann,²³ der sechszehn Fuss gross war, und rettete sie, indem er das Gefängnis zerstörte. Der Kaiser bat, indem er sich tief verneigte, um Entschuldigung.”

Diese überlieferung, wonach eine Anzahl buddhistischer Mönche, die aus den westlichen Ländern nach China Sūtras mitbrachten, von Shi-huang-ti ins Gefängnis geworfen und

¹⁵ Vgl. Oda, a.a.O. S. 484.

¹⁶ Vgl. Oda, a.a.O. S. 495.

¹⁷ Vgl. Oda, a.a.O. S. 485.

¹⁸ Vgl. Oda, a.a.O. S. 485.

¹⁹ Vgl. Oda, a.a.O. S. 493.

²⁰ Vgl. Oda, a.a.O. S. 484.

²¹ Vgl. Oda, a.a.O. S. 493.

²² Taisho-Trip. LI, S. 708a f.

²³ Aus dem chinesischen Wortlaut geht nicht hervor, ob es sich um einen oder mehrere Männer gehandelt hat. Ich bin geneigt, an eine Mehrzahl zu denken. Vgl. unter dem Abschnitt “Das Bekanntwerden der Sūtras Shih-huang-ti.”

schliesslich von "starken Männern" (金剛人) befreit wurden, ist natürlich als ungeschichtlich abzulehnen. Gleichwohl möchte ich annehmen, dass der Gebrauch des Ausdrucks 金剛 in diesem Zusammenhang dadurch bedingt ist, dass Shi-huang-ti einige Jahre vorher jene Chin-jên-Statuen, also Darstellungen des Vaiśravaṇa, hatte giessen lassen. Im Buddhismus wird nämlich, wie wir bereits hervorhoben, der Ausdruck 金剛 gerade für solche Schutzgötter wie Vaisravana gebraucht.

Auf die Frage, wen die Chin-jên-Statuen darstellen, scheint mir schliesslich noch eine—sehr schwierig zu interpretierende—Stelle im Kan-ch'üan-fu (甘泉賦) des Yang Hsiung (揚雄) ein gewisses Licht zu werfen. In dieser 13 v. Chr. verfassten poetischen Beschreibung des kaiserlichen Lustschlosses Kan-ch'üan werden unter den Sehenswürdigkeiten des Palastes auch Chin-jên erwähnt, und es ist klar, dass dieses Zeugnis gerade deshalb bedeutsam ist, weil der Dichter hier aus eigenem Augenschein zu sprechen scheint. Bei diesen Chin-jên im Kan-ch'üan-Palast handelt es sich offenbar um die von Ho Ch'ü-ping erbeuteten Statuen;²⁴ wenigstens hören wir aus der Zwischenzeit nichts von dem Guss eines neuen Chin-jên. Die von Shi-huang-ti gegossenen zwölf Statuen aber waren bekanntlich in anderen Palästen aufgestellt (S. 55). Die Stelle dieses Fu lautet (Han-shu-pu-chu Kap. 87, S. 7b):

金人仡々其承鍾虞兮，嵒巖々其龍鱗揚光耀之燎燭兮，垂景炎之炘々，配帝居之懸圃兮，象泰壹之威神。

In einer Übersetzung des Kan-ch'üan-fu hat E. von Zach die Stelle so wiedergegeben:²⁵

Gewaltig ragen die Menschenstatuen empor, die

²⁴ Es sei nochmals betont, dass es ungewiss bleiben muss, ob Ho Ch'ü-ping eine oder mehrere Statuen erbeutet hat.

²⁵ E. von Zach, "Yang Hsiung's poetische Beschreibung des Himmelsopfers im Lustschloss (Kan-ch'üan-fu). Sinica, Jahrg. 1927, S. 191.

Glockengestelle in die Höhe halten, und in deren Panzerkleidung die Einschnitte wie Drachenschuppen klaffen. Der Palast verbreitet helles Licht wie Fackeln und glänzt wie hohe Flammen. Er passt in den Hsien-p'u-Park des Himmelspalastes und verkörpert die wunderbare Macht des T'ai-yih-Geistes (des Grossen Einen)."

Zach erklärt sich also die Sache so, dass die (zwölf) Chin-jên in Wirklichkeit Statuen von Menschen darstellten und Glockengestelle, auf denen wohl eine Glocke oder Trommel stand, in die Höhe hielten. Meiner Ansicht nach bedeutet hier der Ausdruck 鐘虞 einfach "Sockel". Ursprünglich scheinen solche Sockel als Gestelle für Glocken und andere Musikinstrumente gedient zu haben, während hier auf dem Sockel eine Chin-jên-Statue stand.

Im dritten Satzglied ergänzt von Zach als Subjekt "Palast", was im Chinesischen nicht ausgedrückt ist. Ich glaube dagegen, dass in diesem Satzglied wie bei allen anderen "Chin-jên" das logische Subjekt bildet. So möchte ich die ganze Stelle etwa wie folgt übersetzen:

"Ein tapfer aussehender Chin-jên steht auf einem Sockel, sein drachengeschupppter Panzer verbreitet strahlendes Licht wie Fackeln und glänzt wie hohe Flammen. Er (Chin-jên) wurde im Hsien-p'u-Park des Himmelspalastes aufgestellt und gleicht dem allmächtigen Gott der grossen Einheit."

Wir erinnern uns, dass der Kaiser Wu die von Ho Ch'ü-ping erbeutete Chin-jên-Statue im Palast Kan-ch'üan aufstellen liess, da er den Chin-jên für einen grossen Gott hielt (vgl. oben S. 72). Damit hängt meiner Ansicht nach die Erwähnung des Gottes der "grossen Einheit" an unserer Stelle zusammen.

Wenn Hayashiya u. a. die Chin-jên-Statue im Kan-ch'üan-Palaste für eine Buddha-Statue erklärte, so ist diese Gleichsetzung schon deshalb abzulehnen, weil die Figur des Buddha nie mit einem Panzer dargestellt wird. Dagegen würde die ganze Beschreibung sehr gut auf Vaiśravaṇa passen, dessen schreckenerregende Gestalt gleichfalls mit

einem Panzer bekleidet war (vgl. oben S. 56). Dass die Chin-jên-Statue keine einheimische Figur verkörperte, vielmehr in ausländischen Vorstellungen wurzelte, geht meines Erachtens aus dem Ausdruck *Chin-ti* 金狄 "Goldbarbaren" hervor (vgl. oben S. 56 f.), der daneben zur Bezeichnung der Chin-jên in der Han-Zeit verwendet wurde. In diesem Zusammenhang sei noch einmal an die khotanesische Überlieferung erinnert, wonach der Gott Vaiśravaṇa einen indischen Prinzen aus Khotan zum Sohn des Herrschers von China gemacht haben soll. Wie wir sahen, geht diese legendenhafte Überlieferung vielleicht darauf zurück, dass Kuṇāla, ein Sohn des Aśoka, als Herrscher von Khotan eine oder mehrere Statuen des Vaiśravaṇa nach China geschickt hat. Damit möchte ich die in chinesischen Quellen berichtete Geschichte in Verbindung bringen, wonach im 26. Jahre des Shi-huang-ti zwölf Riesen in babarischer Kleidung in Lin-t'ao erschienen und der Kaiser nach ihrem Vorbild zwölf Chin-jên-Statuen gossen liess.

Für die grosse Bedeutung, die der Gott Vaiśravaṇa in Khotan und in Zentralasien hatte, lassen sich noch einige Beispiele anführen. Als der König Vijaya-saṃgrāma II. von Khotan im Jahre 674 n. Chr. nach China kam, um dem Kaiser Kao-tsung Tributgeschenke zu überreichen, wurde er zum *Gouverneur von P'i-sha* ernannt. Das Chiu-t'ang-shu (舊唐書) berichtet darüber (Kap. 221, S. 17b):

上 (高宗) 元初, 身率子弟酋領七十人來朝, 擊吐蕃有功, 帝以其地爲昆沙都督府, 折十州授伏闕雄.

²⁶ "Au début de la période chang-yuen (674-675), emmenant à sa suite ses fils, ses frères cadets et ses hauts dignitaires, au nombre de soixante-dix personnes, (le roi de Khotan *Fou-tou Hiong*) vint lui même rendre hommage à la cour. Comme il s'était acquis des mérites en combattant les *T'ou-po* (Tibétains), l'empereur fit de son territoire le Gouvernement de P'i-cha, le divisa en dix

²⁶ Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kine (Tures) Occidentaux, St.-Petersburg, 1900, p. 127.

arrondissement et conféra a *Fou-tou Hiong* le titre de Gouverneur."

Wie bereits Chavannes bemerkte, ist *P'i-sha* eine abgekürzte Transkription von *Vaiśravaṇa*.²⁷ Wenn also der Kaiser Kao-tsung den König von Khotan zum Gouverneur von *P'i-sha* ernannte, so musste damals noch die Tradition, wonach die Herrscher von Khotan von *Vaiśravaṇa* abstammten, lebendig sein. Ein weiteres Beispiel für die bedeutende Rolle, die dieser Gott in Zentralasien spielte, liefert die Biographie des *Fu-k'ung* 不空 (*Amogha-vajra*) eines buddhistischen Priesters, der zur Zeit des Kaisers Hsüan-tsung (玄宗) aus Nordindien zu Schiff nach China kam und hier für die Ausbreitung der Tantra-Schule wirkte.²⁸

天寶年中西蕃，大石康三國帥圍西涼府，詔空入，帝御于道場，空乘香爐誦仁王密語二七遍，帝見神兵可五百員在于殿園，驚問空，空曰毘沙門天王子領兵救安西，請急設食發遣，四月二十日果奏曰，二月十一日，城東北三十許里雲霧間見神兵長偉，鼓角誼鳴，山地崩震，蕃部驚潰，彼營壘中有鼠金色，咋弓弩，弦皆絕，城北門樓有光明大王怒視，蕃帥大率，帝覽奏謝空，因勅諸道城樓置天王像。

"In der Periode T'ien-pao (742-750 n. Chr.) führten die drei Länder Hsi-fan (Tibet), Ta-shih (Araber) und

²⁷ Während Chavannes, Fujita (Untersuchung zur Geschichte Zentralasiens Teil III. *Shigaku-Zasshi* XXXIV, S. 36, Anm. 22) und Stein (a.a.O. p. 176) in *P'i-sha* eine Umschreibung von *Vaiśravaṇa* sehen, hielt es Teramoto (a.a.O. S. 148 f.) für eine Transkription von *vijaya* "Unüberwindlichkeit" und begründet dies damit, dass sich die Fürsten von Khotan fast alle *Vijaya* genannt haben, z.B. *Vijaya-sambhava*, *Vijaya-jaya*, *Vijaya-samgrāma*, *Vijaya-vikrama*, etc. Diese Erklärung ist meiner Ansicht nach unrichtig; denn das Wort *vijaya* wird in Chinesischen 伏闍 und 卑示 transkribiert und mit 無勝 übersetzt. Wenn *P'i-sha* und *Vijaya* identisch wären, braucht das Chiu-t'ang-shu nicht doppelt durch 毘沙 und 伏闍 auszudrücken. Wie in Japan die mit "bi-sha" 毘沙 gebildeten Namen von Strassen oder Hallen jedenfalls mit *Vaiśravaṇa* Beziehungen haben, so muss der Ausdruck 沙毘都督 auch auf *Vaiśravaṇa* zurückgehen.

²⁸ Sung-kao-sêng-chuan (宋高僧傳). Vgl. Taishō-Trip. I, S. 714.

K'ang (Sogdiana) Truppen und umzingelten Hsi-liang-fu. Man befahl dem Fu-k'ung (in den Palast) zu kommen. Der Kaiser (Hsüan-tsung) ging zu einer Buddha-Halle. Als Fu-k'ung sein Weihrauchgefäß nahm und die Dhāraṇī des "Sūtra über einen gütigen Herrscher"²⁹ vierzehn Mal vorlas, sah der Kaiser in dem Palast-Garten ungefähr 500 göttliche Soldaten. Erstaunt befragte er darüber den Fu-k'ung. Dieser antwortete: "Der Prinz³⁰ des Gottes Vaiśravaṇa sucht mit seiner Armee An-hsi zu retten. Ich bitte (Eure Majestät), rasch Lebensmittel zu beschaffen und sie hinzusenden." Am 20. des vierten Monats wurde ein Thronbericht folgenden Inhalt eingereicht. "Am 11. Tag des zweiten Monats habe man etwa 30 Li nordöstlich der Stadt in Wolken und Nebeln göttliche Soldaten von mächtigen Wuchs gesehen. Ihr Trommeln und Hörner ertönten, Berge und Erde wurden erschüttert, die Barbaren stürzten erschreckt auseinander. In den Lagerwällen gab es goldfarbige Ratten; sie nagten die Bogen und Armbrüste an, sodass sämtliche Sehnen zerrissen. In dem Turmtor auf der Nordseite der Stadt stand ein von einem Heiligenschein umstrahlter Fürst (d. h. Vaiśravaṇa), der zornig dreinblickte, worauf das Barbarenheer rasch entflo. Als der Kaiser diesen Bericht las, dankte er dem Fu-k'ung und befahl infolgedessen, in den Stadttoren aller Provinzen Statuen des Vaiśravaṇa zu errichten."

Dieselbe Erzählung hat dann auch Eingang in das etwa im 14. Jahrhundert verfasste japanische Geschichtswerk *Taihei-ki* (太平記) gefunden, dessen 29. Kapitel verschiedene Überlieferungen enthält, wie der Gott Vaiśravaṇa sich Fürsten und Kriegern gegenüber huldvoll erwies. Wenn diese Traditionen auch erst aus späterer Zeit stammen, so scheinen sie doch zu beweisen, dass Vaiśravaṇa schon seit der Begründung des Königreiches Khotan in Zentralasien Verehrung genoss.

²⁹ Vgl. S. 86, Anm. 4.

³⁰ Es gibt fünf Knaben, die dem Gott Vaiśravaṇa dienen. Wahrscheinlich meint man hier den einen von den fünf göttlichen Knaben.

³¹ In Japan war es allgemein üblich, dass Krieger und Fürsten Vaiśravaṇa um Sieg baten. Ihre Söhne wurden auch "Tamon-maru" (多聞丸) oder "Sohn des Gottes Vaiśravaṇa" genannt.

Auf Grund der vorgelegten Materialien glaube ich also behaupten zu dürfen dass die Chin-jên-Statuen sowohl der Ch'in- wie der Han-Zeit Darstellungen des Vaiśravaṇa waren. Aber selbst wer diese Hypothese ablehnt, wird zugeben müssen, dass es sich bei diesen Chin-jên jedenfalls nicht um Buddha-Statuen handeln konnte.

b. Einige Ergänzungen zum Chin-jên-Problem.

1. Chin-jên des Kaisers Ming

Hat die Überlieferung des Hou-han-shu und der übrigen Werke, wonach dem Kaiser Ming der späteren Han-Dynastie ein Chin-jên im Traum erschienen sei, nun irgendwelche Beziehungen zu den bisher erörterten Chin-jên? Wir müssen hier die betreffende Stelle des Hou-han-shu noch einmal ausschreiben (Kap. 118, Nr. 78):

明帝夢見金人長大頂有光明，以問群臣，或曰西方有神名曰佛，其形長丈六尺而黃金色，帝於是遣使天竺問佛道法。

“Der Kaiser Ming sah einen Chin-jên im Traum. Dieser war sehr gross und sein Haupt von Licht umstrahlt. Er befragte seine Beamten (darüber). Einer sangte: Es gibt im Westen einen Gott, Buddha genannt, dessen Gestalt ist sechszehn Fuss gross und goldfarbig. Darauf schickte der Kaiser Boten nach Indien, um von der Lehre Buddha's Kenntnis zu erhalten.”

Wenn man diese Erzählung unbefangen liest, ist man vielleicht versucht zu glauben, mit diesem Chin-jên nur Śākya-Buddha gemeint sein könnte. Denken wir aber an die oben erwähnten Chin-jên, so erscheint ein Zusammenhang zwischen ihnen und der Traumerscheinung nicht unmöglich. Die Chin-jên des Shih-huang-ti standen zur Zeit des Kaisers Ming in der Halle Ch'ang-lo. Als Kaiser Ming die alte Hauptstadt Ch'ang-an besuchte, musste er jedenfalls auch von den Chin-jên dort Notiz nehmen und so könnte die Traumerscheinung wohl eine Erinnerung an sie sein.

Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass die Priester Kāśyapa-

mātanga und Dharma-rakṣa den Buddhismus und damit auch Buddha-Bilder in China eingeführt haben; in Indien erlebte gerade zu dieser Zeit der Buddhismus eine neue Blütezeit durch den König Kaniska. Buddha-Statuen aus Bronze wurden, wie wir wissen, in China erst viel später gegossen. Die Traumerscheinung des Kaisers Ming kann also nur an die Chin-jên der Ch'in- oder Han-Zeit angeknüpft haben.

2. Gehört die Chin-jên-Statue einer nichtbuddhistischen Religion an?

Es bleibt noch die Frage zu erörtern, ob der Chin-jên vielleicht Gegenstand der Verehrung einer anderen Religion war. Man könnte sich den Chin-jên als hinduistische Gottheit, z. B. Śiva, Viṣṇu, Mahêśvara etc. denken. Aber der Hinduismus hat niemals religiöse Propagierung im Ausland getrieben, sondern sich immer auf Indien beschränkt. Hätten die Chin-jên einer nichtbuddhistischen Religion angehört, so müssten sich auch irgendwelche Anzeichen für die Ausbreitung ihrer Lehre in Zentralasien und China finden. Aber wir hören nichts dergleichen. Die Religionen, die über Zentralasien nach China kamen, waren nicht nur indischen Ursprungs, sondern auch andere Religionen, wie der Nestorianismus (景教) und Manichäismus (摩尼教), oder die Lehren Mohammeds und Zoroasters finden dort Eingang. Nestorianismus und Mahomedanismus nun kommen hier nicht in Frage, weil sie erst später entstanden sind. Dasselbe gilt vom Manichäismus; sein Begründer Mani ist erst um 215 n. Chr. geboren, so dass auch die Ausbreitung dieser Lehre erst in eine spätere Zeit fällt. Nur die Lehre Zoroasters sieht auf ein höheres Alter zurück, aber sie hatte dem Untergang der Achämeniden-Dynastie (331 v. Chr.) bereits ihre Bedeutung verloren.

Daher lässt sich mit Sicherheit annehmen, dass der Chin-jên nicht das Symbol einer anderen Religion darstellte. Können wir ferner nachweisen, dass der Buddhismus damals

in Zentralasien verbreitet war, so bildet das einen weiteren Beweis für unsere Behauptung. Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt möchte ich im nächsten Abschnitt die Einführung der Sūtras in China zur Ch'in-zeit behandeln.

(To be concluded)

KAISHUN OHASHI

IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES :

X. HONKOKUJI

Honkokuji is one of the four main temples of the Nichiren sect having been founded by Nichiren himself. Originally it was in Kamakura. In 1253 Nichiren built a small hut there and called it Honkokuji. In 1398 it became a temple and twenty-eight years later, Nichijō, a disciple of Nichiren, brought the edifice to Kyoto where it received the patronage of the Emperor. The temple met with some vicissitudes for it was burned down by the priests of Hieizan of the Tendai sect. This was due to chagrin over the popularity and power of Nichiren. The once one hundred sub-temples on the temple ground have now become twenty-six, but it still is a flourishing centre of the vigorous Nichiren sect.

Honkokuji is entered by a great gate containing large carved statues of the Deva kings. There are many temple buildings in the wide yard where children play and doves flock. In the Hall of Śākyamuni is the standing statue of the Buddha which Nichiren dearly loved. It was given to him by the governor of Ito while Nichiren was exiled there. When the governor was seriously ill he was healed of his disease through the prayers of Nichiren and in gratitude he gave the statue to Nichiren who loved it so much, he carried it with him wherever he went. The statue is now enshrined in this special hall guarded by two ancient Korean dogs carved in wood brought from Korea by Kato Kiyomasa. The hall is richly decorated with the ornaments generally found in Nichiren temples.

In the Ikimiedo is the statue of Nichiren carved by Nichirō and which Nichiren himself saw before he died and on which he wrote the sacred phrase: "Namu-Myōhō-Renge-Kyo" (Hail to the Wonderful Lotus Sutra).¹

* *The Hokkekyo (Saddharma Puṇḍarīka)*

In the building called the Soshidō are statues of Nichiren the founder of the sect, Nichirō the celebrated second head and also those of the third, fourth and fifth Patriarchs. They all wear peculiar red and white strips of cotton-wadding on their heads.

The origin of this is of interest. It is said that in 1264 Nichiren restored his mother from a serious illness, and that after doing so he was proceeding with his disciples through the pine forest at Tōji. The governor of the province, Tōjō Kagenobu, with many soldiers attacked Nichiren and his friends, and two of the party were killed as well as the feudal lord of Amatsu who was coming to great Nichiren.

When Tōjō Kagenobu came upon Nichiren with the intent to kill him by the sword, Nichiren raised his rosary and cried out, *Namu-Myōhō-Renge-Kyo*. The jewel in the rosary was broken into two parts and Nichiren's forehead was injured. The cotton-wadded hoods revive the memory of this incident and the statues wear them from October 12 (the anniversary of Nichiren's death) to April 8 (Buddha's birthday).

In the temple compound is a shrine sacred to the memory of Kato Kiyomasa. It is called Kwanji In and is supposed to be built on the site of the house where Kiyomasa lived.

Kato Kiyomasa was a devoted retainer of Hideyoshi and a fervent follower of the Nichiren sect, and in Ōsaka he founded a temple Hommyōji where he installed the memorial tablets of his ancestors and which he visited once a year at New Year's time. Kiyomasa was devoted to the abbot of Hommyōji, and later when he became Lord of Kumamoto he removed the temple there from Ōsaka, and Nisshin followed him also and became the abbot. From the red gate of Honkokuji Kiyomasa's army marched out for the campaign in Korea. On Kiyomasa's army flag were the seven characters representing the sacred phrase, "*Namu-Myōhō-Renge-Kyo*." At his shrine here at Honkokuji is his memorial tombstone. His posthumous religious name is Seishō Kō.

The remains of his wife and daughter are buried here.

Besides the shrine for Kiyomasa there are several others, one to Myōken, the Bodhisattva of the Pole Star, popular in the Nichiren sect. Before it stands the image of a bronze horse, for the horse is the messenger of Myōken as the fox is of Inari. There is a shrine to Inari, the Shinto god of the harvest of rice, and also one to Kishimojin, the Indian goddess Haritī, who was converted to Buddhism by Buddha from her previous life of eating children. Now she is regarded as the protectress of children, and represented as a beautiful woman carrying a child with a pomegranate in her hand. To her shrine come mothers who have lost their children and pray for the welfare of their dear ones in the other world.

The Kyōzō (revolving library) is very ancient and is a national treasure. The half life-size lions on the central washing trough are very charming,—lions instead of the usual conventional dragon, and one lion is standing with his back legs on the ground and his front feet resting on the trough while another lion is standing on the edge of the water basin. It is quite unique in design.

Among the treasures of the temple are pictures of the Four Mandalas drawn by Nichiren, the one of Oshidori being noteworthy because it is decorated with a piece of cloth said to have been taken from a dress belonging to Yōkihi (Yang-kue Fei) the unfortunate, beautiful lady beloved by Emperor Gensō of China. This brocade is embroidered with the figures of the *oshidori*, a species of duck noted for their beauty and their fidelity, for when one of a pair of mates dies, the remaining one remains faithful unto death.

The garden back of the priests' apartments is small but dainty in conception.

Honkokuji may be called the Mother of the Nichiren temples. It is faithful to the spirit of Nichiren (Lotus of the Sun) who originally belonging to Tendai established his own sect. To him the idealised Śākyamuni of the *Saddharma*

Puṇḍarika was most worthy of worship. Nichiren himself is considered to be an incarnation of Bosatsu Jōgyō, one of the first disciples of Śākyamuni.

The sacred phrase, "Namu-Myōhō-Renge-Kyo," is on the lips of every devout member of the sect, carved on stones, written and painted on paper. It may be translated: "Adoration to the Sacred Scripture of the Lotus of the Wonderful Law." Temple worshippers repeat the sacred phrase to the accompaniment of the drum. In fact, the Nichiren followers like noise and the peculiar rhythm with which they strike the drum is often deafening.

Nichiren made the assertion: "If my benevolence is really great and far-reaching, the Holy Book of the Lotus of the Good Law will continue predominant for a million years." Again he said, "Indian Buddhism came from the West to the East. Now Japanese Buddhism will go from the East to the West." When he lay dying he recited: "My constant solicitude is how can all beings be led to the incomparable Way and ere long attain Buddhahood?" May not one of the ways be along the lines of his own teachings which we see symbolised here at Honkokuji?

A visit to this temple or any one of the chief fanes of Nichiren Buddhism cannot fail to make an impression as to the powerful personality and character and spirituality of the great Buddhist Nichiren.

XI. HONNŌJI

The Nichiren temple of Honnōji is situated in the heart of the city of Kyoto. It is just off one of the busy streets, yet when the visitor enters the temple yard he at once becomes aware of a spirit of calm which descends upon him as he views the quiet temple roofs, around which the doves are circling.

Honnōji was founded by Nichiren in 1416. The temple is famous as the scene of the assassination of Oda Nobunaga by Akechi Mitsuhide and his tomb is to be seen here. The temple has suffered much from fire in the past and the present Hondo is new. The interior is very rich and beautiful, the gold predominating. Here is enshrined a life-sized statue of Nichiren which is only shown on the 12th and 13th of each month. Nobunaga's memorial tablet (*ihai*) is also enshrined here. On the altar are the statues of Śākyamuni Buddha and Tahōtō Buddha revered in the *Sadharma-Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*.

In the treasure-house there are some interesting pictures and things connected with Nobunaga. Here is a halberd which was used by his wife Ano-no-tsubone when she was trying to protect her husband.

Nobunaga defended himself valiantly when the enemy caught him at Honnōji. When severely wounded and recognising that his cause was helpless, he set fire to the temple and committed suicide, his young son perishing with him. But thirteen days later Mitsuhide's own severed head was exposed in front of Honnōji gate where Nobunaga had met his end.

In the treasure-house are also some interesting pictures of Arhats by Chōdensu and some black-and-whites by Kano Motonobu and a Mandala drawing by Nichiren himself. This is called the Daimoku Mandala and depicts the sacred phrase of the Nichiren sect, "Namu Myōhō Renge Kyo." The writing is mounted on a special kind of damask silk

with a vine pattern, and brocade with this pattern is now sold with the name of *Honnōji-gire*. There are a number of articles preserved here which will interest the student of Japanese history. Among these is an exquisite screen of mother of pearl representing the poem of Seki-heki (the Red Cliff) celebrated by the Chinese poet Su Tung P'ò.

On each side of it are two large incense-burners in the shape of kirins. The kirin (unicorn) is really a creature of the imagination and found in the oldest examples of Chinese art. It is said to be composed of the essence of the five elements. It is represented with the body, legs, and cloven hoofs of a deer, and the head and breast of a dragon. It emits flames from its tail and joints and on its forehead is a horn while its body has scales like a fish. Like the Hōō (phoenix) it appears only when great events occur and is symbolic of gentleness and virtue. These kirins belonged to the Emperor Hui-tsung of Sung who himself was a painter and art lover. These kirin, looking much like dogs, are marvels of power and vitality.

Among the tombs at the back of the temple besides the imposing one of Nobunaga's are those of Nichiryū and Nichiren, in the latter case probably only a memorial tomb or perhaps erected over a part of his ashes or bones since his real sepulchre is at Ikegami near Tokyo.

Near these tombs are those of the painters Uragami Shunkin and Uragami Gyokudo.

Uragami Gyokudo was born in 1745 and his family adhered to the Daimyo of Okayama. Uragami was the family name. It is interesting to note how he took his brush name of Gyokudo. He loved the koto instrument very much and spent much time playing upon it. He came into possession of a koto of seven strings which had belonged to Ko Gensho a Chinese. This koto was called *Gyokudo-sei-in* (the clear rhythm of the jade hall) and so beloved by the painter that he carried it everywhere he went and took his name from it.

In 1794, Gyokudo started on a journey to the eastern provinces accompanied by his two sons and carrying with him his beloved instrument. Later he settled at Kyoto because he loved and appreciated the natural scenery of the city and its surroundings. Here he painted assiduously and played the koto for his amusement. No one was his teacher of painting, he painted entirely from his own artistic inspiration. Although he may be classed as a Bunjinga artist, his work is so individualistic, so versatile that he may be classed by himself. One of his characteristics is that in his brush-work he used horizontal lines in depicting trees and foliage as if done by pencil and this is most characteristic of him and gives his pictures a certain charm and air of modernity.

Now a word about the Patriarchs of the Nichiren sect. Nichiren selected six of his disciples to follow him in the work of preserving and developing the sect. The first was Nissho born in 1221. He was a Tendai priest originally and studied at Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei, Toben as he was called then. Nissho had the same doubts which Rensho (Nichiren) had held before him, for they both felt that the doctrines of Jikaku and Chisho were contrary in some parts to those of the founder Dengyo. Toben was therefore advised by his teacher to seek out Rensho who had left Mt. Hiei for Kamakura. Toben decided to do so and joined Nichiren there and became his fervent disciple and faithful server. In fact he managed all the practical affairs so well that Nichiren was able to devote himself entirely to propaganda. After Nichiren's death he compiled a collection of Nichiren's literary work. Later his believers in Kamakura built a temple for him there where he died at an advanced age leaving the propagation of the Nichiren sect to Nichiryu.

Nichizō was the nephew of Nichiro and was brought as the boy Kichizōmaru to Nichiren by his father. He became a devoted disciple and later was known as Nichizō. When Nichiren was going into exile from the shore of Kamakura

in 1260, Nichizō hurried up to the boat and held by his naked feet the rope of the boat, pleading that he might be allowed to follow Nichiren into exile. But the guard struck him so severely that his right arm was broken. Nichiren comforted him and counselled him to be brave and to be a true believer in the Lotus Gospel and that he Nichiren would think of him everyday during his exile. After Nichiren's departure, Nichizō would stand on the seashore every evening to think of his beloved master and once finding a piece of wood drifting on the water he took it and carved a statue of Nichiren.

After the disastrous attack at Komatsubara on the way to Kamakura when Nichiren was severely injured Nichiro nursed him faithfully in the cave where they both took refuge. It was Nichiro who took the document of pardon to Nichiren at Sado where he was exiled. In 1282 Nichiro met with the sad event of Nichiren's death at Minobu. For one year he entered into quiet mourning for his master and then he returned to Kamakura in order to propagate his religion and in 1318 he settled at Ikegami near Tokyo where Nichiren's tomb is situated. He left many eminent disciples.

Nichiko the Third Patriarch helped Nichiren in his literary work and became the founder of Daisekiji, and Nikko, the Fourth Patriarch, became Nichiren's disciple when he was only thirteen years old and was constantly with him, visiting him during his exile at Sado and taking care of him at Minobu. He also wrote a number of important books. He became the second abbot of Minobu.

Nitcho the Fifth Patriarch worked for the sect at Honkokuji and elsewhere.

Nichiji, the Sixth Patriarch, was noted in boyhood for his beauty and clever mind. At the age of fourteen he became a priest at Hieizan where he studied very hard. But he had grave doubts in regard to the Tendai teaching and was advised to consult Nichiren at Kamakura. He became Nichiren's disciple. After Nichiren's death he com-

piled the work of *The Questions and Answers* in regard to the *Hokke Kyo* (*Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*). Thirteen years after Nichiren's death, in 1294, he set out quite alone upon a journey of evangelisation. First he went to the Hokkaido, then through the coast country of Siberia to Manchuria and finally to Peking and other places in China and then onwards to India where he diligently preached his doctrine. He died and was buried in India. It is said that over his tomb was placed a tablet bearing in Tartar letters the words, "Namu Myōhō Rengekyō."

Nichizō is not one of the patriarchs but he was a great worker for the sect especially in Kyoto. When Nichiren was dying although Nichizō was only a boy, he instructed him to carry on the work in Kyoto, and he faithfully obeyed even though he met with troubles and persecutions. He founded a number of temples in Kyoto, Myōkenji being the largest and most important.

Nichiryū was the founder of Honnōji as the head temple of the Kempon School of Nichiren Buddhism and he was a very influential priest of his time, the promoter of the Honkakyuretsu doctrine.

SEIREN (BLUE LOTUS)

NOTES

The Second Conference of the Pan-Pacific Young Buddhists' Association was held in Tokyo and continued at Kyoto, Ōsaka, and Mt. Kōya, July 18-25, 1934. The first Pan-Pacific Young Buddhists' Association Conference was held at Honolulu in 1930. It was agreed that considerable results in education, thought, and social problems were attained there but even greater ones by the Second Conference. There was an attendance of over 1,00 Buddhists; delegates were present from fourteen nations of the Pacific, 300 from Japanese Buddhist organisations and 300 from foreign countries. The early meetings were held in Tokyo at the temple of the Nishi Hongwanji. There were many interesting lectures given beside receptions, social talks, and so on. Later the delegates came to central Japan. This writer had the pleasure of attending the meeting at the Great Hall on Mt. Kōya where a sutra ceremony was performed. It was extremely interesting to see the delegates from different countries, Indians in their turbans, Indian and Burmese women in their graceful dresses and Japanese Americans from America and Hawaii. All seemed to be enjoying practically the ideals of Brotherhood.

Some of the suggestions of various committees are as follows: The establishment of an international Buddhist University; the establishment of an international Buddhist Summer College; to honour those who have specially contributed to the cause of Buddhism; to restore Buddhagaya and other sacred places of Buddha; the translating of scriptures; the composition of Buddhist songs; exchange of lectures and professors between Buddhist Associations of different countries; special training of young Buddhists to serve abroad; promotion of world peace; removal of racial prejudices; to further internationalism, etc.

At the closing session the relic of a portion of the Buddha's remains was presented by Mr Sri Nissanka of Ceylon. It is difficult to describe all the proceedings of the conference, but that the conference was most successful is unquestioned. That it was so enthusiastically held is another proof that Buddhism is a living force in religious Japan.

The 2500th anniversary of the birth of the Buddha was celebrated on December 8, 1934, at Tokyo in the presence of Prince Kaya and more than three hundred noted Japanese leaders, under the auspices of leading Japanese scholars of Buddhism. The meeting took place at the Imperial Hotel. Eight European and American scholars were honoured by the sponsors of the Institute formed to observe the anniversary for their contributions to the study of Buddhism. Dr Tetsujiro Inoue is the president of the Institute. He said that a part of the celebration was to do honour to foreign scholars in Buddhism for what they have contributed to the study of this Oriental religion. They were awarded certificates and medals.

Scholars receiving the awards are Dr Charles Rockwell Lanman of the United States; Mr Theodore Stcherbatsky of the Soviet; Dr Wilhelm Solf and Dr Wilhelm Geiger of Germany; Dr Louis de la Vallée Poussin of Belgium; Mr Sylvain Lévi of France; and Mrs Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids and Dr Frederick William Thomas of Great Britain. The certificates for the awards were received by members of the various Embassies who represented the scholars.

The ceremonies brought to a close one week of celebration conducted under the auspices of the Institute. A number of lecture meetings were held at which noted Buddhist scholars spoke. About forty scholars also submitted special papers in various fields of Buddhism which they studied, while the Institute distributed a large number of publications. Prof. Kimura and Yamamoto, and Mr Brinkley.

The International Buddhist Society was formed during 1934. Its chief objects are:—the training of Buddhist students in writing English and in reading English Buddhist books, the propagation of Buddhist teachings in foreign countries through the use of the English language and the publication of pamphlets and periodicals in English. Besides this the publication in Japanese of articles written in foreign languages is to be undertaken. For the present are planned four pamphlets in English: the revival of *The Young East*;¹ one collection of Buddhist essays with a bibliography of the

¹ One number of the *Young East*, appeared during the summer.

chief Japanese works which have appeared during the year; two or more Japanese translations of Buddhist works or articles which have been published in foreign journals. The training of ten students has already been started under the supervision of Mr Jack Brinkley.

Dr Inoue of the Imperial University is the president. Among the councillors are Drs Takakusu, Anesaki, Kuroita, Wogihara, Mikami, Masaki, and others. Among them are included the editors of this magazine. The committee is composed of Mr Fujii whose generosity has largely made the formation of the Society possible, Dr Tachibana, Dr Nagai, Profs Kimura and Yamamoto, and Mr Brinkley.

The Nippon Buddhist Research Association, which was established in 1928 with the object of promoting the study of Buddhism and its publication, held the seventh annual meeting on September the twenty-second and the twenty-third at the Eizan Gaku-in School at the foot of Mt. Hiei. Owing to the storm the previous day, September the twenty-first, which caused great damage to Kwansai district and interrupted traffic, the attendance was not so large but scholars presented the results of their serious study: "Method of Critical Study of Saint Nichiren's Works," Prof. Y. Azai of Risshō Daigaku; "On Kwangyō Mandala," Prof. K. Ishiguro of Seizan Semmon Gakkō; "Sudhana in the *Avatamsaka*," Prof. H. Idzumi of Otani Daigaku; "The Principal Teachings of Eno (Hui-nēng), the Sixth Patriarch of Zen," Prof. K. Ito of Rinzai Daigaku; "Study of the Old Tendai Books Recovered in the Kanazawa Library," Prof. R. Etani of Bukkyō Semmon Gakkō; "View on the Bodhisattva Practice in the *Prajñā-pāramitā* and that in the *Avatamsaka*," Prof. S. Suzuki of Tōhoku Imperial University; "What is Muryōgi?" Prof. W. Ogiwara of Taishō Daigaku; "On *Mahāyānottara-tantra-sāstra*," Prof. K. Tsukinowa of Riukoku Daigaku; "Position of Ch'iu Chiu Ch'ieh in the *History of Transmission of Buddhism*," Prof. R. Hadani of Kyoto Imperial University; "Study of Dhyāna in Primitive Buddhism," Prof. K. Masunaga of Komazawa Daigaku; "The Jōdo Doctrine in the Japanese Tendai in the Middle Ages," Prof. K. Yamaguchi of Hieizan Senshū-in.

The Buddhist Literature Exhibition (known as Daizō-e), which has been opened annually since 1914 under the auspices of the Kyoto Buddhist College Federation for the purpose of showing the valuable books belonging to temples, libraries, and private persons, had for 1934 the twentieth exhibition from September the twenty-second to the twenty-third, at the Eizan library, and the lecture-hall of the Eizan Senshu Gaku-in and Emman-in Temple, where many old manuscripts and old editions belonging to the Eizan Library, Saikyōji, Emman-in, and Hōmyōin, and many private persons were shown.

In the death of the Rev Genyū Yamashita, the Abbot of Chion-in (the headquarters of the Jōdo Sect), which took place on April 11, 1934, we have lost the oldest and the most beloved of all the Japanese Buddhists.

Born on August 28, 1832, in the province of Owari, Abbot Yamashita became a priest at nine years of age and studied Buddhism for many years under various scholars of that time. After four years' service as teacher in the Jōdo School, Yamaguchi, he was appointed in 1874 to preside over Banzui-in temple, Tokyo. A few years later he was invited to take charge of Enjōji temple, Owari, where he led a life devoted to the Nembutsu practice, exerting a great influence in the neighbourhood.

In 1887 he was elected as the abbot of Hyakumanben Chionji, Kyoto, from which he retired afterwards to a temple in Kitano, Kyoto, intending to live the secluded life of a Nembutsu follower. His virtuous life, however, did not keep him long in retirement. In 1897, he was elected as the abbot of Zōjōji, Tokyo, and in 1903, as the abbot of Chion-in, Kyoto, the post which he held through the rest of his life.

As a religious man, he was not so much a scholar in Buddhism as a faithful believer in Amida. Taking pattern by Kwantsū, a famous modern Nembutsu follower, he led a life of Nembutsu practice and often held special meetings to promote it. According to the true spirit of Hōnen, he preached that we should all recite the Nembutsu regardless of our natural endowments or capacities, for this is the way leading to a rebirth in the Pure land.

During his abbacy in Chion-in, he rebuilt and repaired temples, promoted education, and encouraged social activities. The present prosperity of the Jōdo Sect owes him very much to him.

All the Japanese Buddhists, especially those who belong to the Jōdo Sect, expressed profound regret on being informed of the death of Abbot Yamashita which took place when he was one hundred and two years old. From the instant he died in an inner room of Chion-in temple amidst the ringing of bells and voices of Nembutsu the continuous practice of Nembutsu for forty-eight days and nights began in all the temples belonging to Chion-in. His funeral rites were held on May 4 on a grand scale with attendants of more than fifteen thousand, representing all parts of the Buddhist world.

It may be of interest to our readers to learn of the statistics concerning Buddhist denominations, priests, and followers in Japan.

Sects:	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D) ¹
Tendai	4,515	249	3,588	2,069,019
Shingon	11,758	3,659	10,951	8,042,982
Ritsu	23	48	23	34,047
Jōdo	8,213	370	6,461	3,999,578
Rinzai	6,075	154	4,511	2,300,509
Sōtō	14,506	350	11,916	6,879,516
Obaku ²	492	7	354	111,312
Shin	19,666	2,518	15,941	12,984,370
Nichiren	5,093	1,156	4,083	3,226,112
Ji	496	4	342	322,369
Yūdzu-nembutsu ..	353	4	225	133,222
Hossō	44	24	13	14,248
Kegon	32	6	17	22,819
Grand Total	71,266	8,549	58,425	40,106,056

(For the year 1931)

¹ (A)=Temples, (B)=Preaching Stations, (C)=Priests and Teachers, (D)=Followers.

² Obaku, Soto, and Rinzai all belong to one Zen sect.

Of the recent publications on Buddhism, important ones are Prof. Inadzu's *Study in Nāgārjuna's View of Śūnyatā*, which contains (1) "Problem of Existence and Thing-in-Itself in the Śūnyatā Theory," (2) "To Practice from Existence," (3) "Problem of Thing and Form in the Śūnyatā Theory," (4) "On Dharma," and (5) "Conversion and Experience of Salvation"; Prof. K. Fuse's *The Making of the Saddharmapundarikasūtra* in which the author traces back to the proto-type of the sutra and divides four periods of its development; Prof. S. Suzuki's *Study in the Primitive Keron Philosophy* which treats of the thoughts of the early Keron Sect in China; Prof. H. Ui's *Practice of Mind-Only* in which are collected "Ethical Thought in Buddhism" and many other essays; Prof. G. Honda's *The Inner and the Outer Form of Buddhist Scriptures* which is also the collection of the author's essays.

Prof. Daiei Kaneko, who is the author of *Outline of Buddhism, The World Beyond, The Concept of the Pure Land*, and many other books on Buddhism, is now the author of *Various Problems in Buddhism*.

In this book, he takes the subjective method of studying Buddhism according to his own spiritual needs in order that he may thereby realise better the Way he should walk. The book consists of five parts. The first part, "On the History of Buddhist Doctrine," expresses the author's view toward Buddhism in general, referring to the method of its study. In the second part, "Wisdom," he treats of Buddhist Wisdom which differs from ordinary knowledge, and explains that the former is rather an unselfish sympathy. In the third part, "View of the Universe," he clarifies the meaning of causation, expounding that this life is the result of Karma. Whatever criticism scholars may give, the author contends, he cannot give up this idea, for it is the basis of Buddhist doctrine. In the fourth part, "Kleśa (evil passions)," the author claims that Buddhism rests upon the insight into our present state as it is. The fifth part, "Samantabhadra Discipline," expresses the ideal practice in Buddhism. The author concludes with these words: "It is only through the way of listening to the Dharma that Sudhana became equal to Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. This way of listening to the Dharma made his equal to Buddha. What a profound significance it has!"

Besides these works, there are some publications of Sanskrit texts in Roman letters: Prof. Wogiwara and Tsuchida's *The Revised Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*; Prof. S. Yamaguchi's *Madhyantavibhangaṭīka* by Sthiramati. The original MS of the latter was recovered in Nepal by Prof. Silvain Lévi, but as this MS was not preserved in its complete form, Prof. Yamaguchi compared it with its Tibetan version and restored it as a complete text. It is published with the preface by Prof. Silvain Lévi. The late Prof. Gesshō Sasaki's *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-śāstra*, a comparative text of four Chinese versions, was published also recently with the Tibetan version by Prof. S. S. Yamaguchi.

Zen Essays, First Series, being now out of print will be temporarily taken by the recently published *Introduction to Zen Buddhism*. It contains practically the same material as in *Zen Essays*, I, somewhat condensed and without the Cow-Herding Pictures. The price of the book is ¥3.50 plus postage, and it may be ordered from The Eastern Buddhist Society.

The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk was published during the summer, 1934. It is fully illustrated by Rev Zenchū Sato from original paintings and both text and pictures show the life of the Zen monk from his entrance into temple life throughout his study. The price of the book is ¥5 plus postage and may be ordered from The Eastern Buddhist Society.

BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

Publications of The Theosophical Publishing House,
Adyar, Madras, India:

*Annie Besant, President of the Theosophical Society,
and the Changing World*, by Bhagavan Das.

The Third Object of the Theosophical Society, by C. W.
Leadbeater, Adyar Pamphlet No. 184.

Life as Ceremonial, by M. Besant-Scott, Adyar Pamphlet
No. 185.

Dr Besant as a Comrade and a Leader, by Sir C. P.
Ramaswami Aiyar, Adyar Pamphlet No. 186.

*Our Elder Brethren: The Great Ones in the World's
Service*, edited by Annie Besant, D. L., President of
the Theosophical Society, 1907-1933.

The first of these is a booklet of 84 pages and is devoted to the appreciation of the work of the late president of the Theosophical Society, Dr Annie Besant. It traces this work of hers in its different forms and believes that the keynote of her life lay in the fact that she not only spread precious spiritual knowledge for the inner betterment of men, but also gave strenuous action for their outer betterment. As she believed herself to be a humble servant and missionary of the Spiritual Hierarchy which guides the evolution of humanity she was ever active in promoting the welfare of men whether in her work as president of the Theosophical Society, in her political work for Home Rule for India, or in the educational work of establishing colleges and schools. Theosophy was the guiding star of her life and the scattering of its seed was close to her heart and much of her energy was devoted to this by the writing of hundreds of books and pamphlets and the giving of her thousands of lectures. She had many devoted followers all over the world and when she passed away in September 1933 she was sincerely mourned by thousands of persons in India, in Europe, in the Americas. She was a great leader, possessed of wonderful eloquence, high aspiration, generous in nature and with a magnetic personality which attracted to her and kept attached to her friends and adherents. When she died, the

world lost a great spiritual force. Sir Ranaswami Aiyar considers her as comrade and leader for India and reviews her work in politics, in journalism, and in education.

Life as Ceremonial by M. Besant Scott was a lecture delivered at the European Federation of the Theosophical Society held at Vienna, July 1923. The author considers that life itself is ceremonial in which the liver endeavours to carry out the great plan of the Great Hierarchy. The author believes that certain ceremonial forms in life and religion are helpful and writes specially of Masonry and its advantages to the aspiring Soul.

The Third Object of the Theosophical Society by C. W. Leadbeater takes problems connected with the third object which is to investigate the powers latent in man and he advises the development of one's own powers and to be active not passive in practising them and developing them.

Communalism and Its Cure by Theosophy by Bhagavan Das is centered upon the thesis that Spiritual Wholeness, Health, is the only sure basis of all Material Welfare, Wealth. He urges that Moslems and Hindus should drop denominational and communal names and character and become simply and surely religious, scientific, rational and national. Separateness is disastrous, synthesis is needed and Humanist Patriotism under the influence of universal religion is the remedy for all troubles in India and elsewhere. There should be a spiritual league of all religions as complement of the League of All Nations. The author believes that the Theosophical Society and other associations with similar objects can make valuable contribution to the work of applying theoretical, philosophical, and psychological principles of scientific religion to human affairs. The material welfare of all depends upon the right performance of individual duties and several duties which should bring about a true Universal Brotherhood.

Our Elder Brethren: The Great Ones in the World's Service, edited by Annie Besant, D. L., President of the Theosophical Society, 1907-1933. It is stated that this book is an attempt to convey in words a faint reflection of the beauty and splendor of the Great Servants of the World. Every religion has a founder, the World Teacher, and he

has around him his immediate pupils called by different names in different religions, rishis, disciples, apostles, saints, Bodhisattvas, and so on, and recognised as teachers and organisers of the religion of which the foundations were laid by their head. This contributes to the Hierarchy of Masters. The members of the Hierarchy who are treated of in this book are Shri Shankaracharya, the Lord Buddha, the Great Sage of Hinduism; Tehuti; Zarathustra; Orpheus; the Supreme Singer; Shri Krishna the Bodhisattva or the Christ; the Lord Vaivasvata Manu; the Rishi Agastya; Pythagoras; a Future World-Teacher; Confucius; the Lord Muhammad; the Lord Chaitanya; the Noble Army of Martyrs; Giordano Bruno; Guru Nanak; Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India.

In an Appendix further considered are Jesus, Apollonius of Tyana, Shri Ramanuja, and the Master Rakoczi. It is an interesting and suggestive exposition of the lives of these great teachers.

Magazines received in exchange for the *Eastern Buddhist: Buddhism in England*, London; *The Maha-Bodhi*, Calcutta; *The Aryan Path*, Bombay; *Message of the East*, Boston; *Vedanta Darpana*, New York; *Vedanta Kesari*, India; *Shrine of Wisdom*, London; *Mythic Magazine*, India; *Theosophical Quarterly*, New York; *Bulletin of Oriental Studies*, London; *Bulletin of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, India; *Journal of Religion*, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.; *The Epoch*, Ilfracombe, England; *Le Lotus Bleu*, Paris; *The Liberal Catholic*, London; *The Theosophical Messenger*, Wheaton, Ill., U.S.A.; *The Kalpaka*, India, Calamus, Dublin, Ireland; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, India; *Il Progresso Religioso*, Rome; *Litterae Orientales*, Leipzig; *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*; *Journal Asiatique*, Paris; *Journal of Urusvati, Himalayan Research Institute*, Urusvati, Punjab; *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik Veröffentlichungen des Institutes für Völkerkunde an der Universität Wien*, Vienna; *Yoga*, edited by Shri Yogendra Yoga Institute, Bombay, India; *L'Asie Nouvelle*, Saigon.

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